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FIG. 33. DONATELLO: JEREMIAH (detail)
Campanile, Florence

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DONATELLO: SIX PORTRAIT STATUES

BY ALFRED NICHOLSON
Moorestown, New Jersey

While the development of portraiture during the Quattrocento is significant commentary on the cultural history of the early Renaissance, it emerged more conclusively than is sometimes realized in the genius of one sculptor. No one before Donatello, at least since Roman times, had so completely commanded a plastic expression of the nature of man in its complexities; and among his several claims to innovation and original artistry the most essential is a strong characterization of exceptional men. This is no new conclusion; yet some of the works which best exemplify it have been difficult of access. A closer study of these and of others which may be included in the same group should give, within limits here imposed, a clearer definition to our conception of the sculptor as a realist, and to our knowledge, inadequate at best, of his derivations.¹ Since none of these

¹The bibliography is so voluminous and often so out-dated that only the more cogent references will be included. The latest monograph by Dr. Hans Kauffmann, *Donatello, Eine Einführung in sein Bilden und Denken*, Berlin, 1935, contains sixty pages of well condensed footnotes with references; and Arduino Colasanti's *Donatello*, Casa Editrice d'Arte, Rome, 1930, presents a conveniently arranged bibliography up to the last ten years. Since this article was written a Phaidon edition of Donatello has appeared with excellent illustrations of his works.

works, so far as we know, faithfully delineates any contemporary personage, he was free to blend his borrowing with his direct perception. A rudimentary analysis of these two elements, as apparent in the statues here emphasized, together with a few concrete instances of their influence and such paltry variations in attribution and chronology as seem necessary for a better comprehension, are the objectives of this study.

It need hardly be insisted that Donatello was comparatively free from hieratic authority, even when working ostensibly for the Church. The Duomo and Or San Michele were civic as well as ecclesiastical monuments. The latter was obviously patronized by all the guilds, and the powerful and wealthy Arte della Lana conspicuously helped to promote the decorations for the Cathedral — a fact which may have contributed to the disregard or even ignorance of conventional iconography often evident in the general scheme and detail of this decoration. At all events, the most influential patrons were merchant syndics and men of polity, dedicated more to the power of the Commune and the gold florin than to the glorifying of God and His Mother or the propitiation of the saints. Yet these latter activities were imperative, and doubly desirable when contributing to the pride and adornment of the grey stone city of the flower.

I

After the tentative boy prophets of the Porta della Mandorla and the very decorative marble *David*, Donatello during the years 1409-15 achieved two extant masterpieces — the seated *St. John Evangelist* to flank the central portal of the Duomo, and the *St. Mark* of Or San Michele. But these in their dynamic composure are godlike figures; and the first evidence of portraiture is in the *St. George* (Figs. 1-3), executed almost certainly in 1416-17, around Donatello's thirtieth year.²

So much has been written about the *St. George* of Or San Michele, now wisely removed to its predominant position in the Bargello, that little new can or need be said about it. There is nothing esoteric in its greatness; yet, like every original expression or living organism, it has always inspired and successfully defied analysis. For Vasari, whose hyperboles on Donatello seem more than usually appropriate, this was the ideal young warrior. He

²The usually accepted date of 1416 is based primarily on a note by Milanese in his edition of Vasari's *Vite*. Without giving his documentary source, he writes that the base block was sold to the Armourer's Guild by the Opera del Duomo in February, 1416. There is no mention of Donatello in the archives of the Opera between August, 1416, and April, 1418, although immediately before and after these dates his name appears frequently.

notes the animation of the whole figure within the stone, and the *vivacità fieramente terribile* of the face. Such criticism sounds as though inspired by Michelangelo, but it has been a source for many elaborations.

To begin with, prosaically, this sense of movement within the marble is largely effected by the turn and slight upward tilt of the head on the elongated neck. Yet, headless, the figure is admirably organized to enhance this animation; and it suggests a more purely statuesque quality than is usual in Donatello's later figures — due not only to the resolute and firmly planted attitude, but also to the rather shallow cutting and a comparatively simple, though subtle, counterbalancing of lines and planes, better seen than expounded. The face, with its eyes intense and visionary under their slightly contracted brows, is the focal center; and the expression is not in the least terrible or terrifying. It suggests rather a youth strong enough in body but stronger in spirit, determined not to be afraid. It is a portrait only slightly idealized of a gentle neophyte in knighthood, smitten with the young illusions of chivalry.

Specific influences on the *St. George* from the antique or the Gothic north are difficult to discover, although these elements including even the Byzantine are so merged in all Italian sculpture of the period that they may be taken for granted. Perhaps it is unnecessary to look beyond Trecento paintings of warrior saints — such as the *Michael* in Orcagna's altarpiece in Santa Maria Novella — and sculptures from Arnolfo or Giovanni Pisano to nearly contemporary works, including Donatello's own early *David* for the Duomo, to trace the roots of this unpredictable outgrowth. Nor is its imprint on later Florentine art as obvious as might be expected. In passing one may note analogies between the saint's face and that of the *David* painted on a shield in the Widener collection — usually ascribed to Castagno. In both these the attitude of the heads, the oval rounding of cheeks and chin, and the expression of the eyes and brows are comparable, asserting an influence of the greater work. Michelangelo is supposed to have admired this figure, noting doubtless the slight effect of *contraposto* organically within the statue, which he exaggerated to express far different emotions. It lent some suggestions, conscious or otherwise, for his colossal *David*, the *Genius of Victory*, and the warrior above the tomb of Giuliano de' Medici. These sculptures are of course far more "classical" and advanced in technique; and the only evidence of some direct imitation appears, as might be expected, in one of his earliest works — the facial structure of the *Drunken Bacchus* — incongruous as the comparison may

seem. But the influence of the St. George is largely inferential, as that of a statue breathing unprecedented adolescent vitality, and set where all in Florence would see it at close range.

II

Problems concerning the eight Quattrocento figures of prophets now on the east and west faces of the Campanile are, outside of certain narrow limits, still open to conjecture and to the real or imaginary insight of the expert. From a strictly archæological point of view, the foremost difficulty is the fact that whereas there are many documents certainly related to these statues, there is only one series of documents which may be definitely assigned to any one specific marble in this group. Moreover, the position of these figures and inadequate photography have impeded the close inspection necessary for art criticism. Primary considerations here are stylistic and æsthetic; but some attempt to correlate the works with the documents is inevitable.³

Out of the welter the following incontestable data regarding Donatello's

³Documents from the archives of the Opera del Duomo have been collated and presented in convenient form with good introductory analyses by Giovanni Poggi, *Documenti sulla decorazione della chiesa*, etc., Berlin, 1909. The numbering of documents here referred to is that in vol. II of this work. In his chronological analysis, reasonable within its limitations, he would fix a distinct break in time between the execution of the statues on the east front of the Campanile and those now on the west, as suggested by the notice of September, 1422 (255) in which it is proposed that four figures still in the workshop but intended for the Campanile should be placed *in facie campanilis*. The keystone of this theory regarding the original position of the figures is a document of 1464 (331) wherein the Trecento kings and sibyls, "*quattro figure molto ghrosse*" then in the most conspicuous position on the west side, should change places with the "*quattro figure molto belle*" then on the north side facing the Cathedral, where they were barely observable from below. Evidence of this change appears of course on the base slabs marked DAVID REX and SALOMON REX, which were not removed when the *Zuccone* and *Jeremiah* were set there.

With the niches to the west and south already filled with Trecento figures, it seems plausible to suppose that the well-exposed eastern side should be next in consideration for the placement of statuary. Moreover, four figures expressly designed for the Campanile had been completed within the four years before the document of September, 1422. There were two by Donatello, already commissioned in 1415. The execution of these was apparently interrupted by the *St. George* and the reliefs on that niche; but they were finished and completely paid for in 1418 and 1420 (230, 243). Then there was a statue begun by Ciuffagni (221-3-4), but relayed during his temporary absence to Donatello (226), and finally accomplished by Rosso in 1421 (247). The Abraham and Isaac group also belongs to the year 1421 (251). This last, in which Donatello and Rosso collaborated, described as "*Habrae cum uno puero ad pedes*," is the only one of the eight in which documents, subject and attribution concur, though it is obviously not a satisfactory basis for the study of Donatello's style, and has little to do with portrait statuary. Of these four "earlier" works which Poggi believes to be those on the eastern wall, he would ascribe the two outermost to Donatello in their entirety. Of the "later" works he attributes the usual three to Donatello, suggesting that Rosso's prophet, whose scroll reads JOHANNES ROSSUS PROPHETAM ME SCULPSIT ABDIAM, is probably the *Ulia* completed in November, 1422 (257). He would identify the *Zuccone* as the latest of these statues, connecting it with the *Abachucho* of 1436 (323).

No one, so far as I know, has remarked on the fact that in the documents mentioning this *Habakkuk* no destination for it is registered, whereas in practically all other notices on statues intended for the Campanile the fact is definitely stated. There is indeed the document of 1427 (284) giving Donatello twenty-five florins as initial payment "*per una figura a stare nel campanile*." But why should one relate this with the *Habakkuk*, the first notice for which appears eight years later, when anything might have happened to the original marble block? Obviously the subject is open to much unimportant discussion. Poggi's analysis, however, has been the basis for



FIG. 1. DONATELLO: ST. GEORGE
Bargello, Florence



FIGS. 2 AND 3. DETAILS OF ST. GEORGE



FIG. 4. DONATELLO: JOHN THE BAPTIST
Campanile, Florence



FIGS. 5 AND 6. DETAILS OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

share in the work emerge: That he received full payment for the completion of two statues in December, 1418, and July, 1420; for the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, in collaboration with Rosso, in August, 1421; for another figure in March, 1426; and ten years later in January, 1436 for his *Abachucho*, whose destination, whether for the façade or the Campanile, is unmentioned. All notices relevant to Donatello apparently refer to these statues, excepting one of April, 1418, wherein an unfinished work is turned over to him from Ciuffagni only to be transferred later to Rosso without mention of any amount paid to our sculptor, and also one of February, 1427, for first payment on another figure which, as already noted, has probably no relation to the much later *Habakkuk* worth considering here.

Always remembering that the documents do not necessarily give a full account of the hands that worked on any single marble in such a communal enterprise as that of the Opera del Duomo, one may be certain that Donatello was the definitive sculptor of at least three and probably four of the statues now on the Campanile. The three figures in which his style is evident throughout are those now on the western wall beneath which his name is carved: the *Baptist*, the *Zuccone* and the *Jeremiah*. The aged prophet in the southern niche of the east wall is also a formidable portrait statue and obviously done at least in great part by Donatello. These will, therefore, receive fullest attention, and a plausible order of execution will be suggested, without relating them too dogmatically to particular docu-

most subsequent critiques; and so far as available documents and inscriptions are concerned, it is hard to make out a better case. Even he, however, admits it strange that although there seems to be no interruption in the records, Donatello's "later" three works on the west side receive such inadequate notice. Strange indeed, since after 1422 only one work by Donatello recorded as intended for the Campanile and finished and paid for appears (280). Thus the extant book-keeping of the Opera del Duomo as a chronological guide to Donatello's work on the Campanile is unfathomable; but, as I hope to show, it is useful when tempered with stylistic criticism.

Colasanti, *op. cit.*, has followed Poggi in distributing and dating Donatello's share in this work. Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, while using Poggi as a base, has offered new suggestions, and has, I believe, hit nearer to the truth than any other writer so far as the attribution and chronology of these statues is concerned. He observes with reason that although the four figures on the eastern side may have been the first to be placed in position, there is no proof that the other four must all belong to a later date of execution. His suggestion, however, that "*in facie campanilis*" (255) necessarily refers to this eastern side, where the entrance to the Campanile is to be found, is beside the point, since the same expression is used in at least two documents (320, 331), wherein this side is obviously not designated.

The latest and most exhaustive attempt to treat these statues archaeologically has been made by Jenő Lányi in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1935, pp. 121-159 and 245-280. He has elaborated on Poggi's theme with variations; but the results are unconvincing. In attributing the youthful Baptist to Rosso, for instance, he demonstrates what errors may result from inadequate photography. It does seem probable enough, as he argues, that the DONATELLO (instead of the usual OPUS DONATELLI) engraved beneath this statue is a later addition, but that is certainly no proof against the attribution.

In closing this skeptical and tedious foot-note, I may suggest that documentary knowledge, being confined to extant records in the official archives, does not take into consideration arrangements, obviously unknowable, which were probably made between the sculptors themselves. This probability is especially applicable to Donatello, who was burdened with commissions and whose generosity towards his fellow-workmen became a legend.

ments. The individual spirit of Donatello is after all our main objective — a spirit elusive in its magnitude and versatility, but one whose character, though indefinable, becomes ever clearer with a closer application to the whole body of his indubitable works.

III

The *St. John Baptist* (Figs. 4-7) is so obviously in every way less advanced than the *Zuccone* and *Jeremiah* that verbal exposition is scarcely necessary. Although one already finds in it something of the brooding egoism of those later heads in which thought and emotion become almost intolerable, its sources, as a complete statue may be traced directly through the *St. George* to the early marble *David*. In this case no interest whatever is shown in an appropriate or rational revision of a sacred subject — a quality often so characteristic of his work. There is no asceticism here, but rather the somewhat dour yet oddly ingratiating pride of young manhood in its strength.⁴

A comparison between this statue and the *St. George*, especially between the heads in profile (Figs. 3 and 5), is significant. Much of the candid simplicity of the *St. George* has gone; the cutting is more anatomically incisive — obvious in the eyes more deeply set, the cheek-bones, the disordered locks and powerfully functional neck. The change is due both to Donatello's surer conquest over his medium towards more realistic portraiture, and also to the intervention of a more definite influence from the antique. In comparing this head with that of an *Augustus* in the Boston Museum (Fig. 8), one may at first be aware that the differences overbalance the similarities. This bland image is no companion for the young lion of the hardening mouth; yet the basic structure of the heads is sufficiently comparable to make one suspect more than a chance relation. Moreover, portraits of *Augustus* were so numerous that certainly some had already come to light or had always been visible. In any comparison with Roman portraiture, however, it will seem that — excepting a few extraordinary busts — Donatello's heads are characterized by an impassioned individual expressiveness, which in the *St. John* was originally accen-

⁴An elaborated EC [C] E AGNUS DEI on the scroll identifies it as though by an afterthought. John was the only "prophet" who could be represented scripturally as a young man. The feverish and exquisite sentiment animating the Martelli Baptist, now in the Bargello, was a later phenomenon, which, as I hope to show in the course of another study, could scarcely have appeared before the middle of the century, unless one wishes to make Donatello even more of a versatile innovator than a reconstruction of known facts will reasonably permit. The scroll-reading *St. John*, also in the Bargello, shows none of Donatello's technique and only reminiscences of his manner. It is usually now assigned to the first half of the sixteenth century, Dr. Kauffmann being, I believe, the first to attribute it to Francesco da Sangallo.

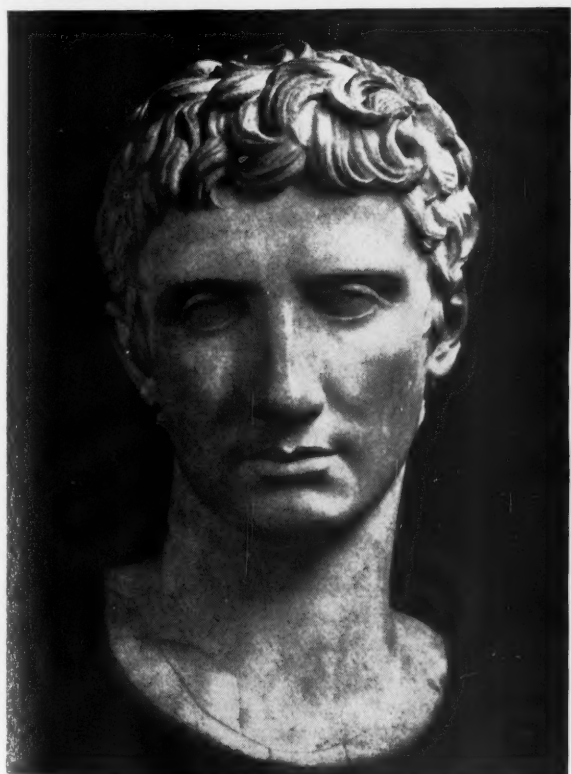
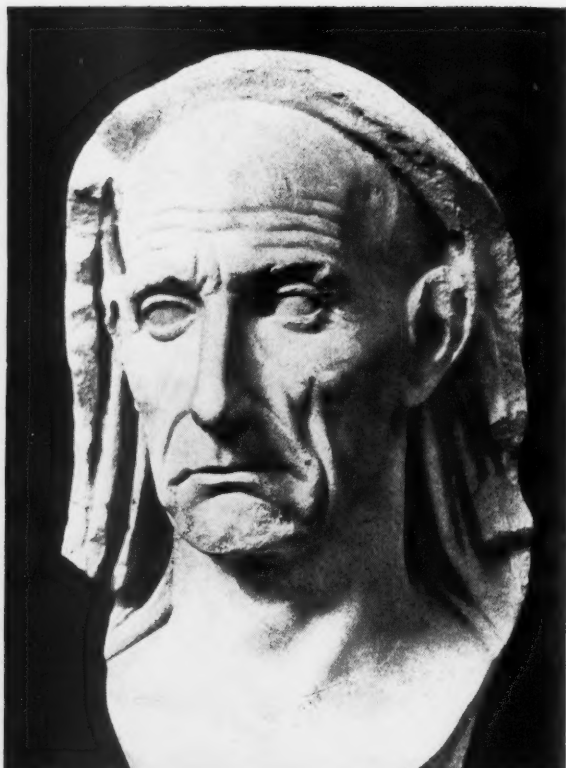


FIG. 7 (above). DETAIL OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

FIG. 8 (below). HEAD OF AUGUSTUS
Boston Museum of Fine Arts



FIG. 9. DONATELLO: AGING PROPHET
Campanile, Florence



FIGS. 10 AND 11. DETAILS OF AGING PROPHET

FIG. 12 (above). ROMAN BUST, *Vatican, Rome*

FIG. 13 (below). DETAIL OF ST. FRANCIS
BY DOMENICO VENEZIANO, *Santa Croce, Florence*

tuated by the eyebrows, only remnants of which remain.⁵ There is also the probability that he had access to a head in which some embers of fourth century Greek fire still smouldered. Yet the *St. John* is no Hellene or Roman, but a personalized young Tuscan of his century.

The lower part of the drapery is Gothic, but a type of Gothic which may be traced through Byzantine to Hellenistic sources — the exposure of part of the left leg, as in the early *David*, being a variation towards the classical. The entire statue must have been done by Donatello or under his close supervision, for there was no one else in Italy — much less among those in the Campanile documents — working marble in a comparable style.

The other portrait statue which to all appearances is earlier than the *Zuccone* or *Jeremiah* is an aged prophet on the eastern wall (Figs. 9, 10, 11). This may be Donatello's first attempt to represent an old man realistically; and, in the art of his time, it is unprecedentedly successful. As will be seen when comparing it with the early Roman bust of an unknown man (Fig. 12), the half of the face beneath the eyes seems almost a copy. But again, and distinguishable from anything he would probably have known of the antique, the eyes are the center for a combination of features expressing a tired understanding and disdain. It seems the face of a stiff-necked ecclesiast inured to church eminence and grown weary in its temporal pursuit. A profoundly sad humanity and the knowledge of inevitable resignation are also suggested. The strong emaciated neck is well set on the shoulders, and the still powerful hands press the scroll, one finger pointing towards a legend which is not engraved.

The lower half, especially in its relation to the upper part, is unfunctional. The right leg is too impelling beneath its drapery, and there is scant suggestion of support in the left, which should be bearing the weight. In spite of a general discoördination emanating at the waist, this lower part may represent an experiment towards the freer and broader drapery of his immediately later work. Beside this latter reason for placing it with the *St. John* as probably one of the earlier statues specified in the two series of documents culminating in 1418 and 1420, are the arguments of its position on the Campanile and the somewhat imitative and far less impressionistic treatment of the head.

⁵Of all these statues the *St. John* has suffered most from over five centuries of exposure, which accounts to some extent for the blurring of detail. In the three figures on the Campanile that I have been able to examine closely (the *St. John*, *Zuccone* and *Jeremiah*) the marble seems comparatively soft and coarse in grain, and the discolored surfaces continue to flake off in many places. There is no evidence of any painting. It will be noticed that the *St. John* was made in two pieces joined at the base of the neck. While this may suggest collaborative authorship, as it certainly does — for other reasons — in the case of the *Poggio Bracciolini*, the assumption is obviously contestable. In a document relating to a work by Rosso for the façade of the Duomo (Poggi, *op. cit.*, 235) two pieces are specified.

Interesting comparisons may be made between this head and that of the *St. Francis* by Domenico Veneziano in Santa Croce (Fig. 13). There are enough similarities to suggest that Domenico may have worked from a sketch of it — an approximately corresponding point of view being obtainable from a scaffolding well up on the Cathedral at about the center of its south side. The stark actuality of the sculpture, however, is utterly lost in the fresco. As will be shown, this painter gives evidence of an analogous though more successful adaptation from the sculptor in his painting of the Santa Croce *Baptist*. Such comparisons are specific instances of Donatello's impression upon Florentine portrait painting, since his younger contemporary was not only accredited with various male portraits, apparently now lost, but is usually considered an originator of that exquisite and too brief tradition of young female portraits in profile. But of course our sculptor's influence on Quattrocento portraiture was by no means limited to Domenico.

Before confronting the *Zuccone* and *Jeremiah* the four remaining fifteenth-century statues on the Campanile should be briefly considered. As already noted, Donatello and Rosso received final payment for the *Sacrifice of Abraham* (Figs. 14, 15) in the summer of 1421. Because of the known collaboration and the highly traditional theme — from early Christian sarcophagi and later Roman painting to the competitive pieces for the Baptistery doors — there is none of that psychological immediacy of the portrait statues which makes them perennially contemporary. Yet the aged patriarch is a primordial force; the head is that of an old ram, the arms and hands are certainly Donatello's, and the garments show vestiges of their Hellenistic origin. To judge from what is known of the work of Rosso, one may suppose that his share was largely confined to a summary hewing out of the stone and to inconsequential details under the master's direction. This is Donatello's only known statuary group in marble, and his much later *Judith and Holofernes* is a scarcely more adequate combination. The conquest of the æsthetic interrelations of two or more figures in the round was a later achievement, the first obvious example being Verrocchio's *Christ and St. Thomas* on Or San Michele — a group which was to exert such an influence on later art. The kneeling *Isaac*, with the possible exception of the Santa Croce *Crucifix*, is Donatello's first known attempt at the nude; and the boy's profile recurs in the reliefs, such as the head of the musician in the middle background of the *Feast of Herod* at Siena. Altogether, in spite of some weakness in the torso of Abraham, this is a formidable work, and its virtues were assimilated by Michelangelo.



FIG. 14. DONATELLO: ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE
Campanile, Florence



FIG. 15 (above). DETAIL OF ABRAHAM



FIG. 16 (below). DONATELLO: MEDITATING PROPHET
Campanile, Florence

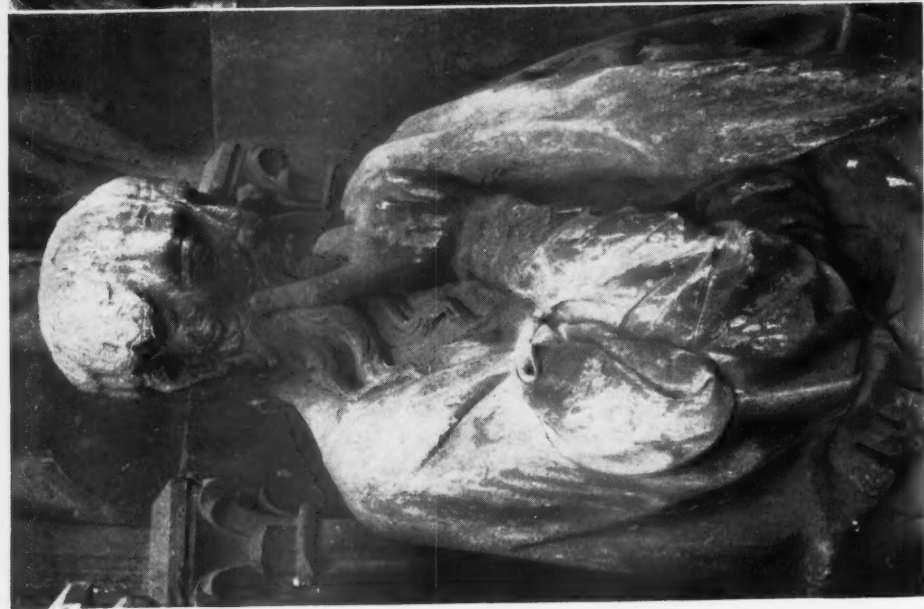


FIG. 17. DETAIL OF MEDITATING PROPHET



FIG. 18. CIUFFAGNI: ISAIAH
Duomo, Florence



FIG. 19. ROSSO: OBADIAH
Campanile, Florence



FIG. 20. DETAIL OF PROPHET BY UNKNOWN SCULPTOR
Campanile, Florence

The meditating prophet (Figs. 16, 17), also on the eastern side and in the niche nearest the Cathedral, has within recent times been assigned to Donatello, chiefly on account of the plausible but somewhat arbitrary reconstruction of documentary evidence already noted. Without close inspection or adequate photographs no one's opinion is entirely valid. Yet enough may be seen to make it certain, within all stylistic reason, that it is not a complete Donatello. From a distance the head is reminiscent of the *St. Mark* on Or San Michele; but to judge from one poor photograph of a closer view (Fig. 17) it lacks the incisiveness of this earlier work. The drapery over the left shoulder suggests a freer, more naturalistic treatment exemplified in the *Zuccone*, while the lower draperies are frozen and schematized somewhat like those of Ciuffagni in his *Isaiah* (Fig. 18). It is a forcefully composed work, however, and not without its echoes in later art. All things considered, the most tenable hypothesis is that this is the marble referred to in the documents as passing successively through the hands of Ciuffagni, Donatello and Rosso, and completed in 1421.⁶ As for the other two figures — Rosso's *Obadiah* and the remaining prophet on the eastern side — it is enough to look and pass on (Figs. 19, 20). The *Obadiah* with its sorry attempt to imitate the face of the *St. George*, and the other figure both show much the same type of ineptitude. The first may well be the documentary *Uliva* completed in 1422, and the other the work for which Rosso received final payment in 1420. Such observations are insignificant except as they suggest that Donatello's immediate co-workers in Florentine stone-cutting were in general at this time a mediocre lot. Only Nanni di Banco, who was then about to finish his superb *Assumption* for the Porta della Mandorla before his early death in 1422, and who from his beginnings was more closely affiliated to Donatello than any other sculptor, showed him anything worthy his future notice.

IV

With the *Zuccone* (Figs. 21-26) Donatello, perhaps in his own estimation, attained a certain pitch of human expressiveness.⁷ To think of it as mere statuary is difficult and inadequate, though what may legitimately

⁶It is a pleasure to note that Dr. Kauffmann holds the same opinion which I happened to form independently.

⁷Vasari's account to the effect that Donatello, when taking a solemn oath would swear, "By the faith that I bear to *Zuccone*," and that while sculpturing he would repeat, "Talk, talk, or may the bloody dysentery gripe you," is probably, like most of the biographer's stories concerning him, a reflection of current Florentine shop-talk already distorted by more than a century of repetition. Yet during his half century of admitted pre-eminence, the sculptor could scarcely have failed to provide a legend not altogether fictional or as mythical as the accounts of Trecento artists. At least there is no previous literary guide worth considering except for particular references, such as those in the pseudo-Manelli.

be read into this still vehement old head and figure is problematic; and the mind, temper, and experience of the observer are more than usually involved. A few impersonal observations may first be noted. The statue is slightly taller and more attenuated than Donatello's other figures on the Campanile — a fact that (whether due to the chance shape of the marble block or to the sculptor's express design) undoubtedly enhances the effect of a spirited ungainliness. The drapery is a combination of the Roman toga and the Greek chiton treated in an advanced Gothic manner and illustrating Donatello's usual practice of borrowing whatever pleased him and using it for his own ends. No close prototype for the head is known, and its nearest approach to direct influence is probably to be found in the skull-like head among the Magi in Leonardo's early masterpiece of experimentation. From a more personal point of view, the *Zuccone*, although it may be the sculptor's interpretation of some contemporary fanatic, is a most complex symbol of humanity. The identity of a possible model offers useless speculation, and it transcends the copying of any specific person or even type of man. Too many divergent qualities are recognizable on too formidable a scale; and the blankness of the eyes and worn condition of the marble, doubtless help the effect of an enigmatic impressiveness. In studying the head and figure from various aspects, one may feel that most of the passions and revulsions of the mind, flesh, and spirit have contended here to mold this ultimately grotesque greatness; and the expression is sublimated above anything transitory. Vague as the comparison may be, the *Zuccone* will seem to some a concrete revision of one of Dante's ardent

By contrast the *Jeremiah* (Figs. 27-30) is a more definitive personage — a declamatory orator of the people and rabble-rouser, in whom a sensual mysticism and a strong primitive intelligence are combined. The total effect, however, is one of restrained power, despite the decidedly unpleasant upward roll of the eye-balls. This feature, along with the treatment of the hair and the modeling of the brow almost certainly derive from some portrait of the Emperor Gallienus, such as the well-known one in Rome (Fig. 31). That this cold voluptuary of an emperor — or "most contemptible prince" as Gibbon calls him — should have been a source for Donatello's formidable characterization is typical of the sculptor's method, or lack of it, and evinces more than anything his originality. Some influence is probable on Domenico's *St. John Baptist* in Santa Croce (Fig. 32), especially when one remembers that the *Jeremiah* was then on the north side of the Campanile facing the Duomo, where it was observable from below in approximately this aspect only. Castagno also obviously felt its power.



FIG. 21. DONATELLO: ZUCONE
Campanile, Florence



FIG. 22. DETAIL OF ZUCONE



FIGS. 23 - 26. DETAILS OF HEAD OF ZUCCONE

These are of course only a few suggestions of source and influence which may be gleaned from the demolitions of time and man.

The linear and formal construction of the whole figure is from certain angles, as in Fig. 33 (frontispiece), admirably expressive at once of passion and composure. The toga with its Gothic agitation heightens the emotional quality, and its undercut folds assume an intricate and natural pattern. The nude parts are anatomically finished even to the veins on the left foot; and the nervous vitality shown in the right arm crooked at the wrist reappears in much representative Florentine painting of the Quattrocento. The right shoulder and arm of Michelangelo's *David* stem from it.

Stylistically and technically it is the most advanced figure on the Campanile, and to judge from the usual processes of development it seems reasonable to date it slightly later than the *Zuccone*. But whether or not it is the *Habakkuk* of the documents is another problem.⁸

V

The so-called *Poggio Bracciolini* (Figs. 34, 35, 36, 38) now in the north aisle of the Duomo, was originally, like the other fifteenth-century figures in the aisles, part of the exterior decoration. It is almost certainly the "vecchio" noted by Vasari at the angle of the façade facing the street then called Cocomero — the figure of an old man in whose face may be seen the thoughts induced by the ravages of time and travail.⁹ So far as one can now tell, from a drawing in the cathedral museum, it is a statue once on the left angle of the old façade, before its dismantlement around 1587.

This statue is in two pieces — the head at the base of the neck being placed on a flaccid accumulation of drapery that any third-rate marble cutter could have accomplished.¹⁰ But the head with its subtle interplay of lines and surfaces, is more advanced, so far as direct portraiture from

⁸Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, is the first to connect this statue with the *Habakkuk* documents of 1435-6, thus making it instead of the *Zuccone* (*vid.* Poggi, Colasanti and Lányi) Donatello's final work for the Campanile. The mere fact that the name *Gêmia* is cut on the scroll does not preclude this possibility, since small importance seems then to have been attached to such hieratic identifications either by our sculptor or the Woolen Guild who paid him. But an alternative possibility will be suggested.

⁹"Si vede, in sul cantone, per la faccia che rivolta per andare nella via del Cocomero, un vecchio fra du colonne, piu simile alla maniere anticha che altra cosa che di Donato si possa vedere, conoscendosi nella testa di quello i pensieri che arrecano gli anni a coloro che sono consumati dal tempo a dalla fatica." The "maniera anticha" here probably connotes in a vague way a comparison with certain naturalistic Roman marble heads. Previously, Albertini in his *Memoriale*, 1510, had also ascribed to Donato "in sul cantone uno vecchio."

¹⁰The usual early dating of this statue seems to me fantastic but easily explained by the incongruity between the head and the rest of the figure. Poggi and Colasanti even connect it with a document of 1412, before the *St. George*, and at a time when Donatello was working on the *St. Mark* and *St. John the Evangelist* — a completely different period. The inscriptions below the neck and on the scroll, so far as I know, mean nothing. They are comparable to the "oriental" abracadabra on the hems of garments in some Trecento and Quattrocento paintings.

life is concerned, than any previously considered. Its intellectuality and expression of tolerant skepticism suggest the humanist scholar, though there is insufficient reason to connect it with the pedantically irascible Poggio himself. There is every reason, however, to believe that Donatello was acquainted with such humanists as Niccolò Niccoli, Poggio, and others of the first half of the Quattrocento and with their reported collections of antiquities, in which he must have taken a peculiar interest. Needless to say, it was entirely in the spirit of the time and of our sculptor to present an eminent citizen as a "prophet"; though the technique of realistic or naturalistic portraiture was rare enough in Italy before the middle of the century.

All things considered, the hypothesis that this is the *Habakkuk* (1435-36) is sufficiently tenable for the following reasons: first, it will be remembered that the documents make no mention of this figure as designed for the Campanile. Secondly, it seems improbable, though not impossible, that ten years should elapse before the final niche in the Campanile was filled. Thirdly, Donatello, during the middle fourteen thirties, after his return from Rome, was overwhelmed with commissions, such as the *Cantoria* for the Duomo and the pulpit at Prato, and would have been more likely to leave the execution of the less important and more laborious parts of a statue to an assistant, as he palpably did in this case. Finally, the anatomical modeling of this head is more meticulous in detail and seems to have been taken more directly from a living model than any heretofore considered.¹¹

This last argument does not of course imply that the head of the Poggio is a greater work of art than the *Zuccone*, for instance; but merely that in tracing Donatello's representation of the male figure from its beginnings through the Campanile statues a general tendency towards naturalism or visual accuracy is evident. In our present age of æsthetic sophistication and reaction against a technically dextrous but meaningless naturalism, the production of a "speaking likeness" may seem absurd; but it was undoubtedly one of Donatello's ambitions, which he finally achieved without subduing the mind and spirit of a man to his clothing or his covering of cuticle.

A comparison between this head and the *Niccolò da Uzzano* (Fig. 37) will show that they were probably done by the same artist at approximately the same stage of his development as a portraitist.¹² The fact that the

¹¹If, however, this head belongs to the middle fourteen-thirties, as I believe, Poggio would have been in his fifties—a quite possible age for the man represented in this statue. The tradition, though, seems to be a late one, and is not reported in Vasari or his published sources. There is also no extant pseudo-likeness of Poggio resembling it.

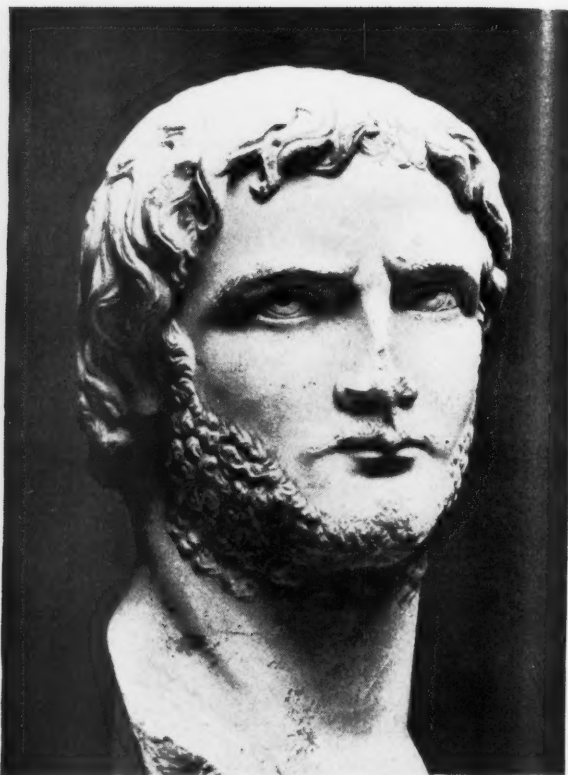
¹²I am quite aware that some have doubted the authenticity of this bust, both as to subject and authorship. But most contemporary scholars who have treated the subject with any seriousness still keep the faith; and I am unaware of any other sculptor working in a comparable style or



FIG. 27. DONATELLO: JEREMIAH
Campanile, Florence



FIG. 28. DETAIL OF JEREMIAH



FIGS. 29 AND 30. DETAILS OF JEREMIAH

FIG. 31 (above). GALLIENUS, *National Museum, Rome*
FIG. 32 (below). DETAIL OF DOMENICO VENEZIANO'S
ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, *Santa Croce, Florence*

sculptor was representing two totally different types — one the able statesman and man of action, and the other the man of introspective thought — make the similarities of style even more telling. The surfaces of the Poggio's face are obviously much more broken, and lack the clean-cut forthrightness of the weary but still bold oligarch. The lower parts of the faces, however, offer good comparisons; and the power of characterization is peculiarly in Donatello's versatile but recognizable idiom.¹³

VI

The distinction between "naturalism" and "realism," usually now made in the criticism of the fine arts, is convenient but presents various difficulties. Arbitrarily, so far as the connotation of the words is concerned, "naturalism" has come to mean a visual accuracy of representation, and "realism" is vaguely thought of as a presentation of the essential qualities of the object. Obstructions in the way of even visual accuracy, when translated into paint or stone by different eyes and temperaments are obvious; but when interpretation, selection and emphasis of the significant in outward appearances is admitted — towards the end of presenting more than a superficial view of objects — then contradictory problems concerning what is significant are raised and the play of mind and imagination is involved. These contradictions are best illustrated by the innumerable attempts at defining reality throughout the history of culture — from many idealistic systems, through intervening stages, to unqualified materialism. What is conclusively *real* is the true riddle of the eternal and universal Sphinx.

Confined to the less exalted plane of realism in painting and sculpture — not a narrow one certainly — one may go so far as to say that any unadulterated expression of the image-making faculty of the spirit is essentially real. But it is convenient and more in accord with common usage to confine realism in the visual arts to interpretative portrayals of specific natural appearances. The true realist, however, in his interpretation will not choose any chance appearance, but one which is most characteristic of

spirit. For the most learned authentication see Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52, note 145, and reproductions on plates 9 and 10. Various scholars have considered the possibility that the Niccolo da Uzzano head was a translation from a death mask.

¹³A tentative chronology concerning the completion of the six statues may be listed as follows: —

1416-17, the *St. George*.

1418, The *St. John Baptist*.

1420, the aged prophet on the eastern side of the Campanile.

1426, the *Zuccone* or *Jeremiah* — no document specifically designating either one, but the *Jeremiah* probably later.

1436, the *Habakkuk*, possibly the head of "Poggio."

the object. In portraying a face or a hand he will aim to present the animation peculiar to it, and in painting a rock he will suggest the qualities of weight, solidity, etc. — inevitably from the point of view of his experience. Again the field of subjective expression is invaded with the usual consequences. Yet a distinction will be seen when it is noted that the realist tends to be interested in objects for their intrinsic qualities, instead of using them as parts of a larger æsthetic scheme. The usual distinction between typical Mediterranean and Transalpine painting and sculpture will suggest itself; but to carry it too far is ridiculous.

The portrayal of the human face and figure lend themselves in a peculiar way to realistic art. The subject matter is naturally one about which the artist can speak with the surest authority, and with which he can identify himself most completely. In fact, it is the only subject matter about which he can have, as it were, any objective perception of intrinsic truth without relying entirely on his sensory impressions or on the æsthetically neutral sciences. The self-portrait would thus seem to be the ideal vehicle for realistic expression; but the self-portraitist is naturally susceptible to delusions of grandeur or abasement, and the best realistic portrayals are often of people with whom the artist somehow felt a close affinity and could represent from a more detached attitude.

Possible æsthetic transformations of the human face and figure are of course innumerable; but three elemental tendencies are evident in portrait statuary, as in all the arts — though their complications are infinite. There is the generalizing or formalizing tendency, often associated with the word classical, for which sculpture — especially the hewing of stone with simplifications approaching the geometric — is a natural medium. There is also the emotionalizing tendency, often thought of as romantic, which when violently expressive is better adapted to painting, since such a tendency belies the naturally static quality of sculpture. Even painting may seem too definite a medium for the display of violent emotion, for which the fluid media of poetry and music are more adaptable. Finally there is the tendency to literalism, for which painting, among the fine arts, offers the broadest scope and sculpture the most concrete medium.

These elementary aspects of expression have been repeated because they seem perdurable and correspond roughly to what are still called mental, emotional, and sensory experiences — appearing æsthetically in indissoluble combinations and with the individual signature of the artist. They still also have their use in criticism: for it is usually noticeable that when emotion and sense are weak, form and pattern become facile conventions; and



FIG. 34. DONATELLO AND ASSISTANT: "POGGIO BRACCIOLINI"
Duomo, Florence



FIGS. 35 AND 36. DETAILS OF "POGGIO"



FIG. 37. DONATELLO: NICCOLO DA UZZANO (detail)
Bargello, Florence



FIG. 38. DETAIL OF "POGGIO"

that when emotion is strong and immediate it becomes incoherent or inarticulate unless clarified by reflection, tradition, or a disciplined use of the senses. Moreover, when the composing imagination is comparatively weak, literalism often predominates, especially when it is a strong animal sort of literalism revolting against forms and emotions which seem to it invalid.

The aggressive type of literalism in art and literature is what realism now popularly connotes; but the distempered force behind it often defeats itself in exaggeration until it fails to identify itself with the object and becomes wilfully interpretative, accentuating the ugly, the ridiculous, the propagandistic, or the abnormally dull. At its worst it is mere sensationalism with mental and emotional deficiencies.

In attempting to fit these portrait statues into such trite but often neglected observations, one may first admit that, so far as we can now judge, Donatello's purpose, apart from meeting the comparatively flexible requirements imposed upon him, was to bring to life a group of marble men of exceptional personality. It is hard to see how he could have been unaware of this intention and its achievement, and he was fortunately only an instinctive analyst of their diverse psychological intimations, about which enough has already been suggested. Yet it was his intuitive genius in penetrating the disguises of the individual to the complex organism of flesh, mind, and spirit which made him among known sculptors the most profound and versatile of realists. Such a statement is admittedly sweeping, and personal opinion is inevitably involved. Most students of art and humanity, however, will be unable to name an exception.

While a realistic interpretation of character is the keynote of all these statues, the above-mentioned tendencies or aspects of expression are obvious in varying quantities. Thus the *St. George* will appear the most formalized and simplified of the group, and in this sense it is the most classical, though it borrows less from Roman sculpture than any of the others. Without its emotional quality and vigor of representation, however, it would indeed be dead. In passing, one may note that the rounded contours and muscular balance of youth lend themselves most readily to this quasi-geometric treatment, whereas aging anatomies offer more scope to the literalist. The *Zuccone* will probably seem the most completely emotionalized of the figures; and the *Jeremiah*, though sufficiently terrific, is more formalized in pattern. For some, these two figures overstep the limits of good sculpture in their insistence upon an ugly expressiveness. Yet a comparison with baroque art will show how self-contained they are. With Donatello, as with Dante or Leonardo, such ugliness was only the necessary obverse side

of a vital experience of beauty; and any charge of sensationalism should be reserved to the work of the sculptor's final years. It is possible, however, that during his sojourn in Rome in 1432, in the presence of more generalized if often stereotyped forms and decorative motifs, he felt a harshness in some of his earlier work, though his vitality in presenting the phases of humanity was unstinted. Not only do the routs of *putti* belong to the years immediately after his return, but also, probably, the serenely alive *Annunciazione* of Santa Croce and the less exaggerated heads of Poggio and Niccolò da Uzzano.

AN ATTIC TOMBSTONE IN THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

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An outstanding original work of the fourth century B. C. went in 1928 from the Alexander White Collection to the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 1).¹ The style and the Pentelic marble are proof that it once must have stood in one of the cemeteries of Athens. The architectural frame, probably an *ædicula*, is missing and the two upper edges of the ground as well as the whole lower part beginning with the lower part of the legs are broken away. The surface is very corroded and the marble has taken the reddish yellow color which we see also on some parts of the Parthenon. The relief is very high. The head of the man is fully detached from the ground. It was originally bound to it by a strut which has been broken away.

None of the three figures is parallel to the ground, but all are turned toward each other in three-quarter views. The inside shoulders of the standing man and woman are deepest in the ground. They form the apex of a horizontally placed curve which the four shoulders form at right angles with the ground. Curves are also the outstanding features of all draperies. A full circle can be drawn through the three heads and through the right arms of the two men. The clasping hands, now unfortunately broken away, were originally like the clasp of a necklace. The arm of the seated man, the back of his chair, the drapery hanging down from his chair,

¹*Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* XXII, 1928, pp. 114-116. Mus. No. 28, 162 Height: 60 inch. Width: 44 inch.



FIG. 1. GREEK TOMBSTONE
The Art Institute of Chicago



FIG. 2. DETAIL OF FIGURE 1



FIG. 3. DEDICATORY RELIEF, *Athens*



FIG. 4. TOMB LEKYTHOS OF TIMOTHEOS
Schlieman House, Athens

all emphasize these curves. The right knee of the standing man is the center of a star-like pattern of folds. But the composition is so to speak given a scaffolding by the vertical line running between the two standing figures and the horizontal bar achieved by the upper roll of the himation of the standing man and the left arm of the woman, which is laid before the body and which presses a horizontal cluster of folds against her breasts.

Most of the motives of the relief are well known from the many other tombstones mostly found in Athens: the combination of the seated and standing figure, the one woman standing in the background, the clasping of the hands while the other hand of the seated man rests in his lap, and the other hand of the standing man grasping the end of his himation hanging down from the left shoulder.² But there are three unusual features in the face, the drapery and pose of the standing woman (Fig. 2). One is the unusual emotion in her features, which is not surprising in the period of Scopas, but rarely expressed in tombstones. The second is the way she has the overfold of her dress wrapped around her left arm, which presses the folds in such a way that they hang like a frill over the arm, while the end which ought to be over her right hip, appears in the middle of her body below her wrist. A parallel to this movement is found not on tombstones, but on the Medea relief in the Lateran.³ Here it expresses an inner turmoil in the older daughter of Pelias, who is going to slaughter her father at the instigation of Medea, hoping to rejuvenate him by this operation. In the tombstone, it expresses an unusual emotion in the woman, who may have been left alone after the death of her husband and father. Still more unusual is the gesture of her right hand. It is laid with its palm upward on the shoulder of the standing man. There are similar gestures in some tombstones. Thus a servant lifts her right hand with palm upward in a gesture of lamentation behind the back of the seated Erato⁴, or a standing woman stretches out her hand to a seated woman, without touching her.⁵ A daughter bends forward and touches the chin of her seated mother.⁶ Conze explains these gestures as "zureden," "urging," the author of the

²The missing hands must have been clasped in the manner of Theodoros and Praxiteles, Diepolder, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, 30 Pl. 24, 1; Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs* II, Pl. CXVIII, No. 676, also between a standing and a seated man with the same gestures of the free hands. Many other examples in Conze Vols. I-II, passim; cp. particularly I, Pl. CI, No. 429, Stele of Erato and her father Epicharides.

³Brunn-Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Skulpturen*, Pl. 341, 2. Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, 343. H. Götze, in *Röm. Mitt.*, 53, 1938, 200 ff, Pl. 38. Among the tombstones the best but not exact parallels for the folds above the arm are the tomb reliefs of Phainarete and of Philusia in the Piræus Museum, of the late fifth century, Diepolder, *Attische Grabreliefs*, 24 f. Pl. 17-18. Conze, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XXXIX, No. 104.

⁴Conze, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. CI, No. 429.

⁵Conze, I, Pl. LXXIII, No. 306.

⁶Conze, I, Pl. LXXVIII, No. 320. Diepolder, *Attische Grabreliefs*, 50, Pl. 47.

article in the *Museum Bulletin* as resignation, but I think they are meant to be greetings. The gesture on the Chicago relief, however, is a little different. I would interpret it as an expression of intimate relation, a variant of the clasping of hands, which in Greece meant, and still today means, that people belong together as friends or members of a family, not only a greeting or farewell. As the clasping of hands has already been used for the two men, the contact between the woman and the standing man is given with another and similar gesture. The only parallel I have found is on a dedicatory relief of three rulers from the Bosphorus, 346 B. C., where the one seated in the center with one brother lays his hand in the same way on the shoulder of his standing younger brother (Fig. 3).⁷ The clasping of hands being used for the two men, another similar gesture is used to give close contact between man and woman.

Though the types of the heads and some of the motives still recall the fifth century, when the composition of only three figures, expressing deep and important meaning was first cultivated⁸, the mood and the expression, particularly of the woman, are those of the softer and more emotional fourth century B. C. The composition also has its closest parallel in about the middle of the fourth century⁹, when the figures are much more closely bound together, with almost no background appearing between them. The relief with the similar gesture is dated 346 B. C. The unity of a family is rarely expressed more intimately and convincingly than in these three persons.

It is possible that we know their names. A lekythos in the Schlieman house at Athens (Fig. 4)¹⁰ also has one standing, one seated man and a woman standing behind him. The name of the seated man is Timotheos, of the standing one Phelleus, and of the woman Phanokrite. This Timotheos might be the sculptor who worked at the beginning of the fourth century at Epidauros, before the middle of the century at Halicarnassos, and then probably returned to and died in his homeland Attica. Phanokrite may be the daughter of Timotheos and the wife of Phelleus. She, therefore, stands behind her father, but lays her hand with the gesture of intimacy on the shoulder of her husband. Such lekythoi stood in the fourth century at the corners of the terraces of rich Athenian families, giving a

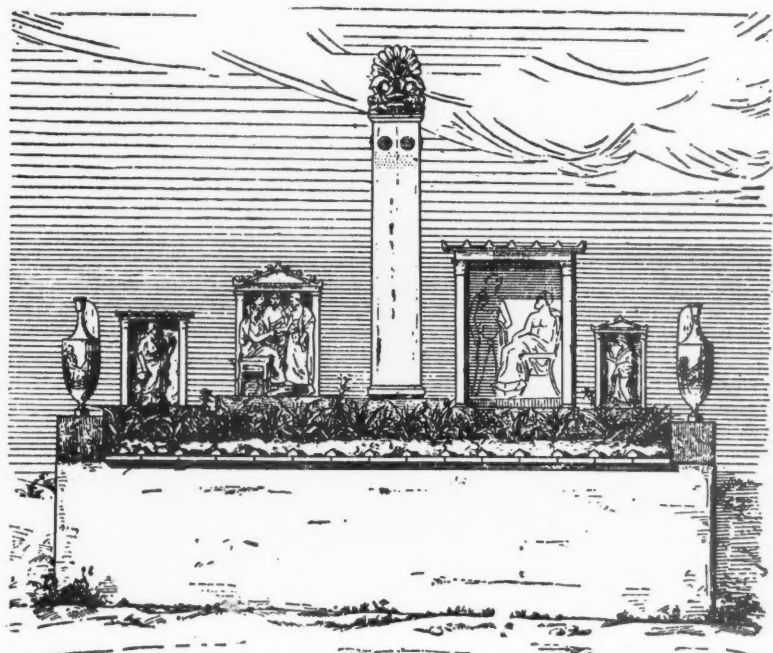
⁷Svoronos, *Athener National museum*, Pl. 104. Brunn-Bruckmann, Pl. 475 b. Diepolder, *op. cit.*, 45 f. Fig. 11. An only remotely parallel gesture is the one of a standing figure laying his arm over the shoulder of a seated figure, like Diepolder, 43, Pl. 39, 1, in Dresden.

⁸Cp. Götze, *op. cit.*, 189 ff.

⁹Cp. Diepolder, *op. cit.*, 45 ff, Pl. 42, for the same style with figures placed obliquely to the background and close together.

¹⁰Conze, II, Pl. CXLV, No. 752.

picture of all members of the family, as on a lekythos in Cleveland.¹¹ Then single steles were erected for the members who had died (see line cut below of a tomb terrace in Athens).¹² Phanokrite may have survived father and husband and therefore she is in the background united with both in an artistically excellent and at the same time meaningful and moving composition.



¹¹*Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1926, p. 54 and 59. The names are: Tymopheon and Lysistrate. The name of the little girl is not clear. Cp. the similar lekythos with little girl and baby on arm of nurse: Conze, II, Pl. CCXXX, No. 1143.

¹²Cp. Brückner, *Friedhof am Eridanos*, 69 ff, Fig. 43.

NOTES ON SMIBERT'S DEVELOPMENT

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Some recent attributions and an assumption that Smibert declined into a weak adapter of stylized British art¹ prompt the preparation of notes

¹Oskar Hagen, *The Birth of the American Tradition in Art*, 1940, used the falsely signed portrait of Benjamin Pratt (Harvard Law School) and the anemic portrait of Joseph Crawford (Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford) to construct a theory about the *de rigueur* British manner which he links with Smibert.

which may serve the scholar who now is completing the study of Smibert's career.

The chief problem is that which is ever present when an artist's name is better known than his pictures; namely, the selection of valid examples by which to judge new as well as traditional attributions. The question of validity is particularly vexing in Smibert's case, since his fame in New England long ago made him the magnet of all kinds of Colonial portraiture and has lately attracted the attention of forgers. Eighteenth century traditions recognize only the names of Smibert and Copley. In the last century, even some Copley portraits were attributed to Smibert, as well as pictures by Feke, Badger, Greenwood, Blackburn and anonymous painters of the first quarter of the xviiith century. Historians have dealt carelessly with these portraits; see the confused account of the Pepperrell family portraits² and Usher Parson's identification of a portrait of Sir William Pepperrell³ as having been painted in London in 1751 by "T. Smybert," although the facts are that the sitter was not then in London and that the painter, who died in Boston in 1752, had been "for some years unable to paint at all."⁴ Modern historians also have been careless, particularly in the last twenty years, since they have accepted at least nine portraits which bear signatures no less confusing than their so-called pedigrees. Under these circumstances, a sensible approach to Smibert's work can only be made through the strictly limited field of the documented or dated paintings which survive critical examination. What is needed is a list of portraits which, though incomplete, establishes the artist's style on a positive basis.

Naturally Smibert did not always paint for the same effect and with identically the same regard for neatness and finish. Like other artists he probably began cautiously, gained confidence, experimented, and finally achieved an economy of handling which may appear to differ from an earlier manner of painting. This is a normal pattern of development. And it must be taken into consideration when interpreting the evidence which follows, especially since the evidence is fragmentary.

1728: *Self-portrait* (Julius Weitzner, New York), said to have been signed on the back of the canvas, now relined, "Jo: Smibert pinxet Rome 1728." Whether or not the inscription is or was authentic, the style agrees fairly well with the earliest certain painting in this country, the Berkeley group; and the smiling features agree sufficiently with the serious face at

²*Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXI (1894), 54.

³*The Life of Sir William Pepperrell*, 1856.

⁴*Smibert-Moffat Correspondence*, Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1915.



FIG. 1. SMIBERT: JEAN DE MONTFORT, COPY AFTER VAN DYCK
Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts, Brunswick, Me.



FIG. 2. SMIBERT: JEAN PAUL MASCARENE, 1730
Mrs. Paul M. Hamlen, Wayland, Mass.



FIG. 3. SMIBERT: JEREMIAH GRIDLEY, 1731
Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.



FIG. 4. GEORGE ROGERS, 1735
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Bumbacher, Cohasset, Mass.

the left in the group, which has been considered a portrait of Smibert himself. Furthermore the figures of Baalam and the Angel in the background, to which the sitter points, can be interpreted as a joking reference to Smibert's hesitation before accompanying Berkeley to America. The Angel (Jehovah), here holding a musket instead of a sword, had to stop the ass three times before Baalam recognized the command. Smibert, Vertue noted⁵, was "tempted against the persuasion of his friends" and "in spite of remonstrances" to accompany Berkeley.

1729: *Bishop Berkeley and His Household* (Yale University), genuinely signed "Jo. Smibert fecit 17(2)9," is of course Smibert's most ambitious painting and is strongly modeled in great detail. An x-ray shadowgraph of the baby reveals the thoroughness and energy of Smibert's brushwork and, incidentally, refutes the supposition that little Henry was a later addition. It was not unusual for newly-born babies to be represented older than they were.

1730: The extant portraits of *Nathaniel Byfield* (Metropolitan Museum), *Jean Paul Mascarene* (Fig. 2), and *Samuel Sewall* (Massachusetts Historical Society) probably are those mentioned in the London *Daily Courant* of April 14, 1730, in a poem "To Mr. Smibert on the Sight of His Pictures."⁶ Though vigorously executed in the technique of the Berkeley group, there are differences in emphasis and extent of modeling which are remarkable. Since Sewall died on January 1, 1730, after "languishing" for a month, and since Smibert did not reach Boston until November or early December, 1729, it is unlikely that Sewall sat for Smibert. The existence of a similarly posed portrait of Nathaniel Emmons, known through the reproduction of a mezzotint⁷, suggests that Smibert may have had an original portrait to follow. This supposition is supported by the thinness of the modeling and the summary character of the strokes; the highlights are painted directly on the ground without preliminary modeling — a practice natural to an artist who is copying the surface appearance of another picture. Although the portrait has been rubbed extensively, the brushwork is still obviously characteristic of a forceful painter. The hands — which may not have appeared in Emmons' painting — are thicker and less elegant than the hands in the Berkeley Group; they are as bluntly constructed as

⁵Walpole's *Anecdotes*, 1849, II, 673.

⁶Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, *New England Quarterly*, VIII (1935), 27.

⁷N. H. Chamberlain, *Samuel Sewall and the World He Lived In*, 1897, frontispiece. A grisaille painting of the same, the size of a mezzotint plate, is owned by A. Mackay Smith, White Post, Va. The original, the "Hon. Judge Sewall's picture," was valued in Emmons' inventory at 20 pounds, a high valuation even for a life-size portrait at full length. See William H. Whitmore, *Notes Concerning Peter Pelham*, 1867.

those of Mascarene. And all three portraits of 1730 are rougher in finish than the group portrait. The curls of Byfield's wig, for example, are indicated in "shorthand" as compared with those about Berkeley's head. And the shoulder folds are fragmentary compared with similarly placed folds in the group portrait. The implication is that Smibert, under pressure of time, may have skipped refinements of modeling. However, the two portraits which follow do not support this theory.

1730 and 1731: *William Tailor* (Luke Vincent Lockwood, New York), signed in red and dated 1730; and *Jeremiah Gridley* (Fig. 3), also signed in red, "Jo. Smibert fecit 1731," must be considered together since they are identical in handling. Since the signature on Gridley's portrait appears to be an integral part of the thin and slightly worn background, both must be considered genuine, in spite of the fact that other portraits attributed to Smibert are not as smoothly finished nor as suave in effect. In fundamental structure and some of the methodical highlights, as in the foreheads, they are consistent with the portraits of Sewall and Mascarene. If Byfield's face and wig had been finished with a glaze which partially obscured the strokes now visible, he would appear quite similar to Gridley in form, if not in character. If Mascarene were finished in the same way, and in addition had been given Mrs. Berkeley's hands, it would be evident that he and Tailor were portrayed from the same point of view. The discrepancy in finish may be explained by assuming that Smibert was here influenced by the soft and full modeling of his colleague, Peter Pelham, whose mezzotint engravings after his own paintings date from 1727 on.⁸

1732: *John Rogers* (Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.), is not signed as sometimes reported, but is inscribed "Aetat suae 66." The elderly sitter, born in 1666, is painted like Mascarene with a minimum amount of waste brushwork. There is no suggestion of the subtle finish of the Gridley portrait. Even though the painting may have been originally sharper and brighter in finish, the structural brushwork is blunt and impatient. In this respect it resembles the portraits which follow.

1735: *George Rogers* (Fig. 4) is inscribed on one folded sheet, "To the . . . Joshua Gee . . . Boston," and on another sheet "Dear Br . . . 1735 . . . To Rogers Esq." the date being partly hidden under the frame at the extreme edge of the canvas. Since Rev. Joshua Gee married the sister of George Rogers, the exchange of notes is natural, although it seems unnat-

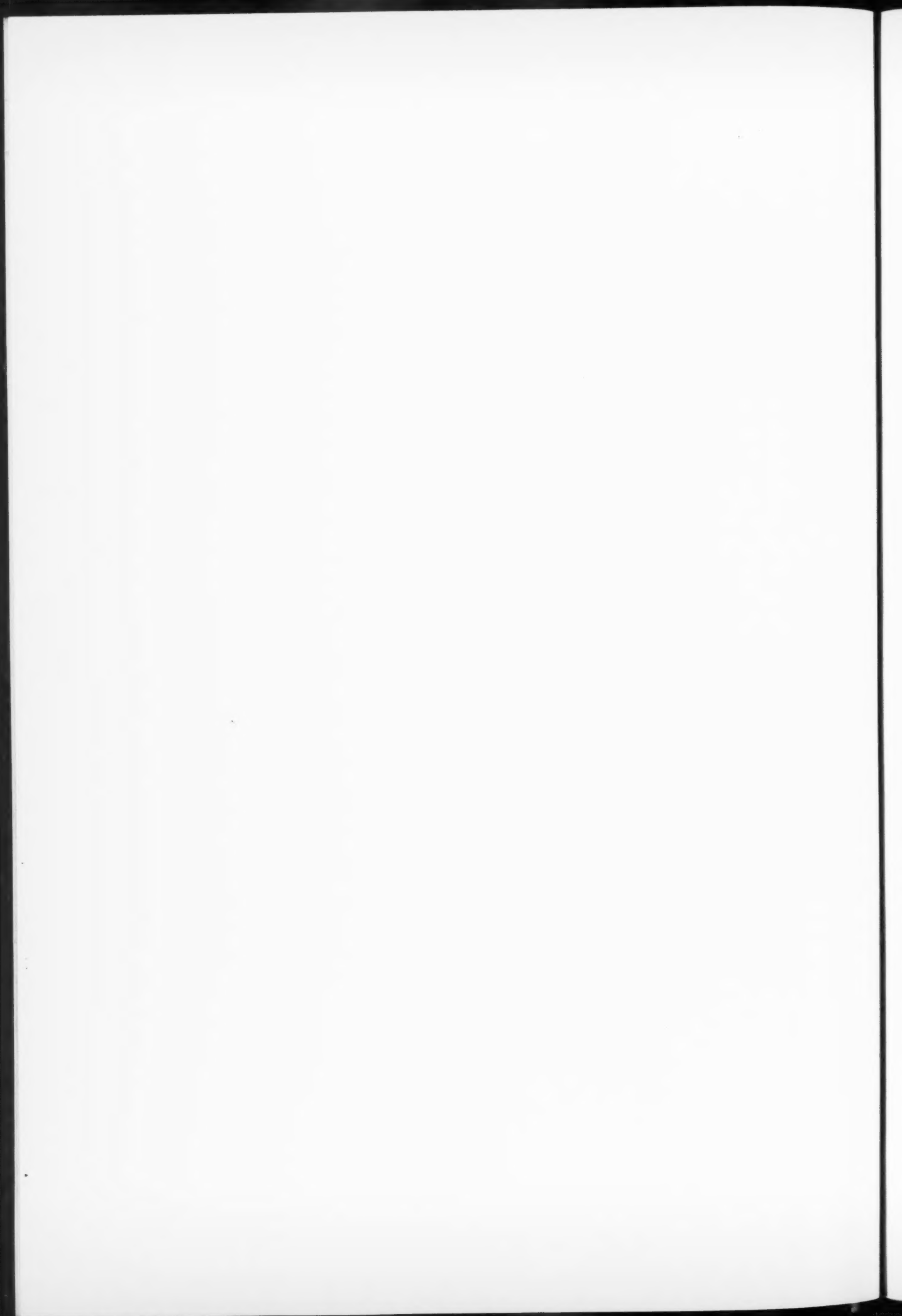
⁸Pelham's oil portraits of Cotton Mather and Mather Byles (American Antiquarian Society) have been respectively damaged and repainted, so that their surfaces are no longer reliable guides to Pelham's style as a painter. X-ray tests show that both were softly and fully modeled.



FIG. 5. BENJAMIN LYNDE, SR., 1738
Mrs. F. M. Mosley, Boston



FIG. 6. SIR RICHARD SPRY, ABOUT 1746
Portsmouth Athenaeum



ural for Dr. Gee to have addressed his letter merely with a notation of the year and without mention of month or day. The flesh is loosely finished with unblended tones and abrupt brushwork. The forms are round, but not worked into a smooth impasto. The characterization stands out uncomplicated by elegance, either of finish or pose. Dated five years after Smibert reached Boston, the portrait synthesizes the richness of detail in the Berkeley Group and the brusque handling of the 1730 portraits.

1737: *John Endecott* (Massachusetts Historical Society), copied in 1737 from the xviii century portrait in the Endecott family, according to a note on the back of the canvas in the handwriting of the secretary of the Society, who received the portrait in 1836. No doubt in imitation of the plainness of the original, Smibert's brushes flowed crudely and unhesitatingly with the forms of the face, but without emphasis on anatomical structure. The 1730 portrait of Sewall, which may also be a copy, is much thinner and less perfunctory.

1738: *Benjamin Lynde, Sr.* (Fig. 5) born in 1666 and portrayed at "Aetat: 72," is more sensitively modeled than the portrait of Rogers. The brushwork is delicate as well as simple; the tones are warm. And the whole performance contrasts utterly with the crudely handled Endecott. A copy of the Lynde portrait (Essex Institute, Salem) is executed in Greenwood's stiffer manner and may date from after 1745 when the sitter died.

1746: *Sir William Pepperrell* (Essex Institute, Salem), engraved by Pelham at three-quarter length in 1747, with credit to Smibert. Whatever the exact date for this, as well as the portraits of Sir Richard Spry (Fig. 6) and Admiral Sir Peter Warren (Portsmouth Athenæum), they were most probably not painted before the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745. Warren's portrait could not have been painted by Smibert after June, 1746, when Warren left Boston for England. The other portraits also must date from the same period, since Warren mentioned in a letter from England⁹ that "Smybert has not sent me your (Pepperrell's) and Captain Spry's portraits, which I admire." If he admired both, he must have seen both before he sailed from Boston. All three are astonishingly coarse in proportion, color, and finish. The toppling figure of Warren, the short-legged Pepperrell and the flatly patterned Spry, each in bold red and blue uniforms, are caricatures of official portraiture. The total impression is one of revolt against current English standards of skill and finish. The flesh

⁹Usher Parsons, *Life of Pepperrell*, 237. According to George A. Ward, editor of *Curwen's Journal*, the portrait of Spry, as well as that of Warren, was rescued from the Pepperrell mansion and deposited in the Portsmouth Athenæum. There are no records of the year of accession. Ward gave the full length of Pepperrell to the Essex Institute in 1821.

tones are composed of broken orange and green touches, much broader in effect than the tones in the earlier portraits.

A familiar letter of 1749⁴, containing the information that the painter's eyes "has been some time failing," may suggest a reason for the roughness of the finish and the incoherence of the proportions. But it scarcely accounts for the angularity and stiffness of the gestures and compositional lines. These are not likely to have resulted from faults of vision. They seem rather to have been deliberate attempts to give tension to worn-out designs, as if the artist felt it necessary to tighten and stress what little linear structure remained in the Kneller formula. Graceless as these portraits may seem, they are not graceless for want of experience; the Berkeley Group shows that Smibert knew how to pose figures in natural and easy attitudes.

The conclusion must be that Smibert, unconsciously or not, developed an individual formula which, with an intensified shorthand method, places him in sympathy with the outspoken art of untrained Colonial painters. He left an accomplished manner of painting to anticipate Hogarthian directness of modeling (see Fig. 4) and then simplified his extraordinary, frank point of view by presenting it in an arbitrary and elementary way.

There is no opportunity to alter this conception of Smibert's development. The attributions of portraits which reveal a slackening of power, or a greater dependence on current British painting, do not survive examination. Although some pictures are not available for study¹⁰ and others have not been tested in the laboratory, the existing evidence is definitely against the attribution to Smibert of such paintings as the following:

John Read (Addison Gallery, Andover), although signed "Jo. Smibert pinx. 1738," does not resemble in modeling any other portrait attributed to Smibert; it is even pastier and stiffer than the copy of Endecott, and is hot in tone. Under magnification the signature is seen added on top of a damaged background. Even though the signature appears double in places, as if an old signature might have been retouched, the background itself is largely repainted.

¹⁰I am indebted to Miss Florence C. Lamb for considerable historical research and to Roger C. Edwards for information on the Bowdoin portraits. The following portraits are unknown to me: Joseph Jenkes, 8 x 10 inches (sold in the Burlingham Sale, 1934), is not owned by Mrs. George A. Plimpton as recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library; Rev. Benjamin Colman (engraved by Pelham in 1735); Elisha Williams, copied from Smibert by Moulthrop (Yale University) — Ezra Stiles' *Diary*, 1901, III, 553, gives the date of the original as about 1736; John Taylor (Arthur Gardner (?) New York (?)), said to be signed and dated 1743; Rev. William Cooper (Pelham's engraving of 1743); William Shirley (Pelham's engraving of 1747); Rev. Henry Caner (Pelham's engraving of 1750); John Checkley (Joseph Green's poem in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, 1791, p. 54); Siberian Tartars (A. C. Frazer, *Life and Letters of George Berkeley*, 1871, 189, note 46); and an unspecified portrait of 1717 (Hagen, *op. cit.*, 43).

Thomas Fitch (Yale University), signed "Jo. Smibert fecit 1738," is no longer attributed to Smibert, since the signature has been shown to be superimposed over old cracks.

Benjamin Pratt (Harvard Law School), signed "Jo. Smibert fecit 1741," can not be considered as a guide to Smibert's style since certain parts of the inscription are added on top of old damages and appear in a few places to fill crevices in the old surface.

Still others have such misleading pedigrees and have been given such impossible identifications that it is scarcely necessary to test their signatures. All these portraits have appeared in the art market within about twenty years and have been published as the work of Smibert, despite the fact that they have no technical or æsthetic resemblance either to each other or to the few pictures which are beyond dispute. Typical of the misleading pedigrees are those analyzed and rejected in *XVIIIth Century Painting in New England*, published seven years ago (pp. 113 and 141).

On the other hand, many of the attributed portraits agree technically and in point of view with those first discussed and re-enforce, in so far as their dates can be guessed, the conjectured development of Smibert's art:

Rev. James MacSparran (Bowdoin College) and Hannah (Gardiner) MacSparran (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), datable in 1729 according to a family tradition of 1885, recorded at Bowdoin College, link the Berkeley Group and the portrait of Mascarene. The three sons of Daniel Oliver (lent to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), Mary (Williams) Smibert (Massachusetts Historical Society), and Elizabeth (Savage) Winslow (Arthur Winslow, Boston), datable about 1730 because of their apparent ages, show the transition from "shorthand" to smoother finish, like Anne (Gerrish) Gee (Massachusetts Historical Society) who was married, and may have been painted, in 1731. Judith (Colman) Bullfinch (Cleveland Museum), Mary Pemberton and Samuel Pemberton (G. H. Davenport, Boston), and James Bowdoin as a Youth (Bowdoin College) carry on the development to about 1735. They are followed by the more broadly handled portraits of Mrs. Stephen Sewall (Essex Institute, Salem), James Gooch (Brooklyn Museum), Charles Chambers (R. S. Codman, Boston), Benjamin Colman, the Merchant (John Ward Cutler), Rev. John Hancock (Hancock-Clark House, Lexington, Mass.), John Turner (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and others.

To this incomplete list may be added the copies made by Smibert before he came to America, which were left to Bowdoin College in 1813. Only one of these has been recognized as by Smibert, *The Continnence of Scipio*,

which is a faithful and energetic copy of Poussin's painting in the Hermitage. Although the first Bowdoin catalogue states that the original was lost at sea, the picture in question was sold about 1784 from Strawberry Hill and had been in Walpole's hands at least as early as 1741, when Claude Dubosc (whom Smibert knew) engraved it.¹¹ The parallel between the technique of the copy and that of the Berkeley Group is evident.

What has not been recognized is that the bust portrait of Jean de Montfort (Fig 1) is painted in the same manner and may reasonably be considered a copy made by Smibert from the three-quarter length portrait by Van Dyck which had been in Florence since 1704. The difference between the copy and the original is interesting, since Smibert strengthened the brushwork throughout. And he appears to have attempted the same experiment, if he was actually the copier, in the portrait of Luigi Cornaro (Bowdoin College), the original of which was attributed to Titian in the early xviiith century but was later (in the Pitti Palace, Florence) attributed to Tintoretto. Both copies are boldly done. By contrast they confirm the fact that the bust copy after Van Dyck's *Cardinal Bentivoglio* (Harvard University) is not by Smibert, as reported in the University records, but by Trumbull who noted specifically that he copied Smibert's copy for Harvard University.¹² In the light of these observations it is difficult to accept Smibert's name on the mount of a feeble drawing, supposed to represent the Grand Duke Cosimo III "from the Life" (Bowdoin College), which was purchased in France in Napoleonic times.

One other copy, received by Bowdoin College in 1813, which was sold in 1850 and was last located in 1915, may have some connection with Smibert's early work, since it appears to have been in his studio. Copley noted that "a naked Venus and Cupid at Smiberts is copyd from one of Titiano's in the possession of the Grand Duke which hangs over the celebrated Titian Venus, but is by no means equil to it." An old photograph identifies the copy but does not permit evaluation of the style.

As a result of conservative winnowing of some of the pictures associated with Smibert's name, it should be plain that his work followed a definite course. Born in 1688, he was about thirty when he copied pictures in Italy, and he was forty when he came to America. His technique, as here sug-

¹¹Walpole's *Anecdotes*, 1849, III, 968. There are many references to the Scipio. Smibert referred to it in 1743 as being still in England (Correspondence, 25), Hamilton described it in Smibert's studio in 1744 (*Itinerarium*), Copley discussed it thirty years later (*Copley - Pelham Letters*, 245 and 249) and Trumbull saw it in 1777-8 when he occupied the studio.

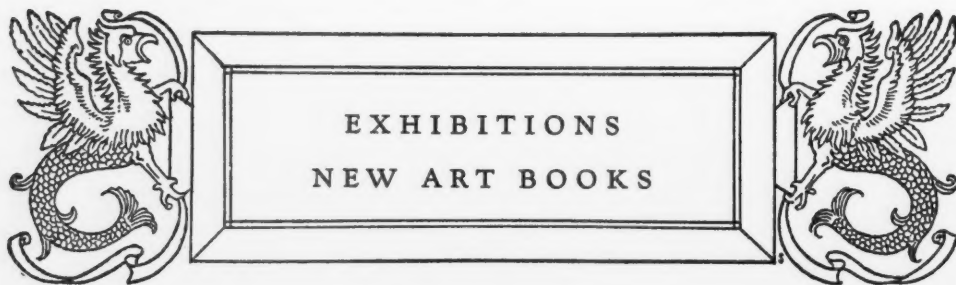
¹²*Harvard Portraits*, 1936, 17. This is an opportunity to disown some of the opinions in the present writer's *Limners and Likenesses*, published in 1936. It would be a pity if one did not improve one's knowledge after six years more study.

gested, early took on its distinctive character. Almost as soon as he settled in Boston, however, he learned to paint more economically and loosely, only to experiment in at least two cases with a neater and smoother finish. Before five years had passed he achieved a robust, Hogarth-like strength. And during the next dozen years he became more and more careless of niceties of manner and learned to paint flesh in broken tones. In effect he adopted something of the blunt manner of Colonial art.

From early to late he seems to have produced clear, bold shapes which hit the bull's-eye in characterization, with or without pleasing textures. Even at his smoothest he modeled the fullness of cheeks and the breadth of foreheads with emphatic knowledge. Sometimes he had trouble with the anatomy of figures, especially the limbs. But he knew the construction of a head and could make up in liveliness of expression what he missed in correctness of proportion. Like most of his contemporaries he utilized a formula for painting folds, and he frequently repeated gestures and compositional patterns. But he also worked tensely to achieve as energetic an effect as the limits of his type of work permitted. His brushes moved rapidly and simply to transcribe what he saw or had to invent. When he painted the group of three Oliver brothers, already mentioned, he had to invent the features of Daniel who had died in 1727. Although Peter in the center, and Andrew at the right are livelier in expression than Daniel, the three are identical in structure.

To claim that he was a second rate follower of an English tradition, or that he was the painter of such thinly executed and formal likenesses as the Schuylers (New York Historical Society) and the totally different portrait of Hester (Plaisted) Gooch (Brooklyn Museum)¹³, is to evade the evidence that he was a consistent and independent portraitist, who brought "foreign" training to bear on the local taste for plain face painting. His bold work inspired the most realistic work of Feke and gave John Greenwood the background for a thoroughly non-English manner. Whereas Feke in his later years adopted British elegance, Smibert late in life adopted the forceful mode of the self-taught artisan. He was American, not by accident, but by assimilation and choice. The peculiarities of his late work indicate how deeply he was concerned with the bared strength of provincial art.

¹³Both attributions by William Sawitzky (*New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, XVIII, 19; and *Antiques*, XXXVI, 225).



HENRI ROUSSEAU

In collaboration with the Museum of Modern Art the Art Institute of Chicago arranged the exhibition of paintings by Henri Rousseau (1844-1910) which was first seen in Chicago and is now on view in New York. It is the first comprehensive presentation of Rousseau since the Basel Exhibition of 1933. The material includes 39 paintings, 2 drawings and a single lithograph, *The Horrors of War*. This print is a sad reminder of the present war which deprives us of important Rousseaus held in continental collections.

Despite the absence of this European material, the show is genuinely comprehensive. Among other things, it is a refutation of much fulsome or grudging praise which it has been Rousseau's lot to receive. We welcome two excellent correctives to current notions of the aims and worth of this master of the tranquil brush. One corrective comes to us in the paintings themselves. They are the art of a flexible, progressive craftsman. They echo the thought of one who, while he may never have had contact with official schools of training in art, nevertheless found his native gift and his creative salvation in painterly terms as unique and as valid as those for which van Gogh, Cézanne and Gauguin labored. Rousseau's art shows that he never stooped to didacticism, that element in truly primitive art which has yet to be dealt with in sophisticated analyses of primitive art.

It has been part of the legend built round Rousseau to say that his expression was limited to repetitious exploitation of a single subject-matter based on photographs or on distorted recollection of the wilderness of Mexico. As we have him at Chicago, Rousseau is a master of a variety of themes and moods, changing his approach dexterously to suit the demands of the specific occasion.

Those who would judge him by a few of his late "jungle" pictures will be baffled by Rousseau's 1886 *Carnival Evening* (Collection, Louis E. Stern, New York). Artistically, this is an adult presentation of man and nature fused in one tonal whole. The maker of this canvas is worthy of more than loose association with primitive, naïve, lay or folk art.

Technically, this picture is flawless. As a haunting realization of landscape with overtones it is mildly in the tradition of the mournful Harlequin painted by Tiepolo, Watteau, Daumier, Cézanne, Derain and Picasso. As well as in any of his later painting, Rousseau builds here with color. And color establishes the validity of his melancholy feeling. He blends somber, greenish tone with surface and depth textures in still space. He conceals so carefully the manual sign of the single stroke, places his evocative forms so justly in balanced relation, that he proves himself a master in fashioning a learned harmony of deep pathos. At the edge of no known forest, before a bank of heavily unmoving cloud, in the piercing cold of evening, stands a couple poised for the dance that could never, somehow, be jolly, perhaps never take place.



HENRI ROUSSEAU
THE WATERFALL
*The Art Institute
of Chicago*

Carnival Evening anticipates at least in part that uncanny burden of stillness which informs the more aggressive as well as more monumental *Sleeping Gypsy* of 1897 (Museum of Modern Art, New York). Both canvases call upon color to reinforce and enliven as well as to blend his calm drawing of solid forms.

After 1900, Rousseau's style changes to a more outspoken, livelier contrast of still-related textures and things. Now his brushwork is clearly evident throughout, yet never so strongly as to mar the continuity of the poised result. In this phase, come the lyric 1905 *Banks of the Oise* (Smith College Museum of Art), and the perhaps similarly datable *Goatherd* (Collection, Mr. James Thrall Soby). This pair of pictures is a perfect and sensitive reply, not childish, to the worry and the discord of life. Here Rousseau reaches softer, more feathery refinements of control as well as a pastoral delicacy of perception. He is charming. And color is his charm.

A fortunate chance made it possible for the visitor to Chicago to study under one roof Seurat's *Sunday Afternoon on the Island of the Grand Jatte* and such crisp pictures of Rousseau's last phase as his 1910 *Exotic Landscape* (Collection, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, Chicago). Seurat sought a high degree of manifest organization along psychologically "right" lines of simple direction with the help of a quasi-scientific system. Well, the "jungle" picture formed from his experience at the Paris Jardin des Plantes is Rousseau's essay in high degrees of clear organization. Its formal relations, while closely knit with a bright orange and green fantasy, are less devoid of spontaneity and liveliness than are the logical precisions of Seurat. Barye and Delacroix went to the Jardin des Plantes to observe and to document the savage and helpless, cruel force of brute nature. Rousseau emerges from the same place with a happier, perhaps more truly æsthetic, pleasurable record of animal joy. Observing which, we can only ask with Fernande Olivier, whether long-schooled intelligence is after all so important for an artist who already has his native gift to guide him.

Rousseau once said to Picasso: "We are the two greatest painters of the epoch, you in the *genre Egyptien*, I in the *genre moderne*." And so it is with satisfaction that we report a success for this second venture in collaboration undertaken by the Art Institute of Chicago and the Museum of Modern Art. Their joint demonstration on behalf of Picasso brought us a painter of unimpeachable worth. Their present collaboration is a proper introduction to the gentler greatness of an unknown, old-fashioned master.

Earlier, we mentioned two correctives. The paintings themselves are one. The other comes in the form of a critical study of Rousseau included in the indispensable official catalogue of the show. This study and interpretation are the work of Mr. Daniel Catton Rich. His is an engaging, informal, factual and moderate essay. It may well stand for the present as the most helpful reading in English we have yet had of Rousseau.

— JOHN FABIAN KIENITZ

GIORGIONE AND HIS CIRCLE

There is no risk of the odium of comparison in reporting on the exhibition, *Giorgione and His Circle*, recently on view at the Johns Hopkins University. For this is the first Giorgione exhibition to be held anywhere. War rationing is temporarily set aside in Baltimore both as concerns food for scholarly thought and spiritual nourishment for laymen. It is possible to regret that in happier times a convention enjoying the coöperation of all countries was not held, say at Venice or at picturesque Castelfranco, with

the famous treasures of the Continental galleries in attendance. The Venetian exhibitions of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese rise readily in the memory. But to speculate on what might have been is a fruitless occupation. It will be soon enough to think of such undertakings when happier times return. Meanwhile the actuality at Baltimore includes a majority of the relevant pictures that are not national property and therefore immobilized. Of the two score items in the exhibition about half are representative Venetian works exhibited to reveal on the one hand the contrast between Giorgione and his contemporaries, and on the other an inkling of his influence.

The exhibition gets off to a good start with abundant material to illustrate Giorgione's presumptive beginnings. There is the little *Allegory of Time* from the Phillips Gallery to serve as the representative for a number of somehow associated panels. There is Teniers' copy of the lost *Rape of Europa*, the earliest of Giorgione's works regarding which we have external evidence for dating: its influence was felt by Dürer in 1495 when he made a drawing of the same subject. There is the Benson *Holy Family*, which notwithstanding possible questions on collaboration and chronology still is Bel-linesque. Finally, there comes from the Strode-Jackson collection, Oxford, the *Pastorello*, to take the name from Michiel's diary, a recent novitiate most charming in this relatively unfamiliar series of early Giorgionesque pictures (reproduced on the cover).

As Giorgione was the embodiment of youth, par excellence, it is not strange that the dividing line between his own youth and his early manhood should prove elusive, especially as we have to contend with the haze of centuries and a shortage of documents. If this ambiguity has to be admitted in the case of the *Pastorello* it must be admitted even more (along with the usual vacillation of attribution) in the case of Professor Mather's *Paris Exposed*. The Mather picture is fairly well known, but entirely new to America is another painting to be bracketed with it, the *Pan and Syrinx* lent by an English private collector.

It has been nearly five centuries since the printed book made its fateful appearance in Europe. During that time the Occidental mind has become enslaved to the printed page. What Giorgione was doing in pictures like the two just mentioned, and notably, on a larger scale, in the Vienna *Philosophers* and the later *Fête Champêtre*, astounds us today for we expect to see such poesies in print, not in paint. But the mediaeval notion that paintings were a surrogate for reading matter was still familiar to Giorgione and his Venetian contemporaries, who were book-conscious without being book-dominated. To them he seemed one of those engaged in making a natural addition, however distinctive, to the *genres* of painting, just as shortly thereafter Ariosto with his comedies was helping to increase the *genres* of writing.

Giorgione was an innovator sufficiently outstanding to impress his contemporaries. Isabella d'Este, who seems so modern in being a patron of art rather than of artists, wrote avidly in 1510 of his "pictura de una nocte, molto bella et singulare." The important thing about Giorgione is, however, as Vasari pointed out in 1550, "che lavorando in Vinegia fece maravigliare non solo quegli, che nel suo tempo furono, ma quegli ancora, che vennero dopo lui." And today we still marvel to see in these pictures a mastery of the idyll in painting, as perfect as has been achieved in literature.

Writing two years earlier, in 1548, Paolo Pino expresses his admiration for Giorgione's perfection "in tutti tre le parti di pittura, cio è disegno, inuentione, & colorire." In our novelty-seeking age it is tempting to stress "inuentione," but clearly the sixteenth century was more impressed by Giorgione's merit than by his originality. Since appraisals of the contemporary, deprived as they must be of the advantage of historical perspective, are always prone to have an exaggerated awareness of originality rather



HENRI ROUSSEAU: CARNIVAL EVENING
Louis E. Stern Collection, New York



GIORGIONE: PAN AND SYRINX

Private Collection, England



GIORGIONE: PARIS EXPOSED

Collection of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., Washington Crossing, Pa.

than of merit, we ought to restrain somewhat our enthusiasm for "invention" and not attribute to Giorgione more of it than better informed sources did. The exhibition reveals quite as much of the other two aspects of his painting.

Portraiture, of one sort or another, is one of the oldest inventions in art, extending at least as far back as the palæolithic. Yet what a contribution the Giorgionesque proves to be even in the case of this staple! Telling examples are the Silberman *Profile of a Lady*, the Melchett portrait, and the Bache portrait, all to be seen in Baltimore. The list might even go on to include the *Pastorello*, for it is probably a portrait somewhat idealized, as is another picture, anonymously exhibited and possibly by Palma, a *Youth Holding a Flute*.

Well-worked themes of Christian religious art were by no means excluded from the Giorgionesque repertory. Such pictures, of which the *Castelfranco Madonna* is the great exemplar, while of some interest in respect to invention, are particularly worthy of study for their "disegno & colorire." Besides the Benson *Holy Family* there are several religious pictures in the exhibition, including the *Circumcision* from Yale, and two novæ, as astronomers would say, the *Man of Sorrows* and *Christ Carrying the Cross*, both recent arrivals in America and anonymously lent. Outstanding among the religious pictures, however, is the *Sabin Salome* from London. This picture more than any other in the exhibition serves to re-evolve in me a vivid image of such works of the precociously mature Giorgione as the *Venus in Dresden*, and such of the more mature Giorgione as the *Fête Champêtre*.

Much has been made of Giorgione as a humanistic painter, preoccupied with mythology. There is exaggeration in this. Belonging to the Italian Renaissance he could not help but encounter the objects of its interest. However, he was a painter of idylls, and all the pedantry of Wickhoff signally failed to prove him a bookish illustrator of Ovid and the like. It did not imply much in the way of humanistic association for a painter moving in the society of Venice around 1500 to have heard of Venus, Æneas, or Paris. It would be most remarkable to discover then a Venetian gentleman who had not. Such mythology has always been standard in the land of Virgil, and few indeed were the Venetian painters contemporary with Giorgione who ignored it. In the exhibition such subject matter is represented by the little *Mythology* of the Brooklyn Museum, in addition to pictures already mentioned.

Giorgione was not so doctrinaire as to champion any particular type of subject or to combat any: he was remarkably free and easy in his attitude toward subject matter. The concept of aniconic art is unthinkable in connection with the Italian Renaissance. But Giorgione did succeed in being aniconographic. Even the *Castelfranco Madonna* shows this in its wayward conjunction of foreground interior and landscape setting. So do his notorious combinations of the draped and the undraped, his pleasing mixtures of the ancient and the contemporary. He is a happy interlude between the devotional and the doctrinaire. With abundance of book-learning we split our pictures into two groups, one illustrative or iconographic and the other ornamental or without subjects. Like his contemporary Bosch, Giorgione was not troubled by this dichotomy. He would gladly paint traditional subjects if commissioned, and commonly did; very likely he had in his earlier years done ornamental work as well. Not aware, however, of the infallibility of these or similar categories, and not at all inclined to rebel against them, he moved freely both through the world of his experience and that of his imagination — and left us in his works and influence a thread by which to follow.

— JOHN SHAPLEY

NEW ART BOOKS

JOHN WATSON, PAINTER, MERCHANT AND CAPITALIST OF NEW JERSEY. (1685-1768).
By John Hill Morgan. Worcester, Massachusetts, 1941. (Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for October, 1940.) 101 pp., illus.

John Watson, the eighteenth century portrait painter and draughtsman, has been a nebulous figure in the history of American art. Known by a very few portraits, he has never been thoroughly investigated until the author undertook his present searching study. It is possible that in years to come more works will be attributed to Watson but for the present he will be known for his oil portraits of Governor William Burnet (1688-1729), and of Governor Lewis Morris (1671-1746), the first oil portraits ever to be convincingly ascribed to the painter. Watson was actively engaged in business, real estate and banking and thus emerges as an eccentric but versatile figure.

Mr. Morgan is forced to lean rather heavily on contributions of three nineteenth century historians in reconstructing the life of Watson. William Dunlap mentioned Watson in his famous history published in 1834, but Dunlap apparently relied on hearsay accounts of elderly residents of Perth Amboy without checking his information. William A. Whitehead, who published a local history of Perth Amboy in 1856, was in the possession of some of Watson's drawings. Benson J. Lossing, writing in 1872, added still more to the record. Mr. Morgan, the author, has critically examined and completely incorporated all the information given by the three historians into the present work. The Watson drawings from the collection of Mrs. Lucien B. Horton provided the author with excellent source material and the discovery of Watson's "boyhood arithmetic book" with later additions in the artist's own handwriting is of prime importance. There are two half-tone plates of pages in this arithmetic-account book and seventeen of Watson's works are reproduced, including portraits of his contemporaries and ideal subjects. Vast quantities of New Jersey legal records were searched and the search proved well worth while. The information uncovered indicates that Watson was sufficiently active and successful in business to warrant the title of "capitalist."

This monograph is divided into two parts: an account of the artist's life and a catalogue of his works. In the first part the author makes the most of every scrap of information relating to Watson's artistic and business career as well as to genealogical details of the artist and his relatives. Throughout fifty-six pages the author weighs all evidence and preserves all clues known to him, even going so far as to establish the existence of other contemporary John Watsons living in the neighborhood. To catalogue Watson's pictures is perhaps a more difficult task than to compile an account of his life. Mr. Morgan continues in the catalogue to dispose of quantities of error. Several portraits attributed to Watson are listed with all available information and then rejected for good and sufficient reasons. In this respect the author is justifiably cautious. The located works by Watson are few in number and Lossing has provided us with a record of forty miniature portraits and ideal heads which cannot now be found.

Mr. Morgan, with the help of numerous institutions and students working in the field of the fine arts, has made a noteworthy contribution to the history of American eighteenth century art. His background is unique for he has not only had a long career as a lawyer but also spent many years collecting American painting and written many works on the subject. This monograph represents much time, labor and thought and it is unfortunate that the author did not document his work more consistently; that he did not include a bibliography, and that he did not place more emphasis on form.

— BARTLETT COWDREY

DRAWINGS IN THE FOGG MUSEUM OF ART.* By Agnes Mongan and Paul J. Sachs.
Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1940. 3 Volumes. \$25.00.

Among publications of drawings the three volumes on the collection in the Fogg Museum of Art of Harvard University, recently published, by Agnes Mongan and Paul J. Sachs, take a special place for high quality. Quite apart from the unusually fine get-up as regards paper, printing and disposition of the text, the contents of the work have been carried out with greatest care and thoroughness.

The introduction gives us information about the many points of view under which the publication has been compiled. It is not only intended for learned experts to practice their criticism on, nor as an exhibition of only first-rate quality. It is also to be considered as the publication of an institute of the University to be used as a book for teaching those who are to be educated for the study of the history of art and have still to perfect themselves in judging quality and difference of style, and become acquainted with the technical material and the stages of development of the artist's conception from the first idea up to the final perfection of his work.

The statements about the single drawings are adapted to this purpose. They begin with short biographical data on the artist, followed by a concise description of the object, its technique and measurements (in inches and in millimetres). The drawing is, if possible, reproduced in the original size. Furthermore there are given the names of former owners, the date of acquisition, a bibliography, and the various exhibitions where the drawing has been shown. In proportion to the significance of the artist or the drawing, a characterization is added, discussing the dating of similar drawings or paintings which are sometimes also reproduced. As to the more important painters, information is also given on their artistic character, their masters and their development, as far as seemed suitable for the education of the student.

The preface goes into greater detail on the origin of the collection. Paul J. Sachs, Associate Director of the Fogg Museum, who collected engravings and drawings since his youth, must be regarded as its real creator. On entering the service of Harvard University, he found there a stock of drawings bequeathed by Dr. John Randall and his sister Elizabeth, both born in the second decade of the last century. These drawings, with the exception of some of lesser interest, have been included in the present catalogue. But the collection attained real importance only through the activity of Paul J. Sachs, who with great perspicacity and ability made fresh purchases and, by exchanging the duplicates among his own engravings, obtained new drawings for the Museum. Manifold gifts and bequests, like that of the important collection of Charles A. Loeser, were added, so that as a whole the collection was ready to be made accessible to connoisseurs, amateurs, and especially to students of the University, by means of a publication.

So far three volumes have appeared, of which the first contains the text, the second the reproductions of Italian drawings, and the third the French, German, Belgian and Dutch, as well as a small number from other countries. A fourth and fifth volume on the English and American drawings are under consideration. The groups of countries are divided within themselves according to centuries up to and including the twentieth, and these are finally arranged alphabetically according to the artists' names. The anony-

**This review, much delayed on its journey here from abroad, is no longer timely. But as both the book under discussion and the distinguished reviewer's opinions are important beyond such considerations it seemed well worth printing the review at this time. — Ed.*

mous groups of drawings are enumerated according to their keywords, "Florentine," "Lombardic," etc. At the end of the first volume we find the reproductions of all the watermarks of the drawings and an index comprising 32 pages of small print giving minute details.

Everyone who picks up the publication will at first turn over the leaves of reproductions and, coming across drawings which awake his special interest, will be eager to find out what the text has to say about them. In so doing he will encounter some difficulty on account of the fact that he will find on the plates the name of the artist and the number of the reproduction, but not the number of the drawing in the catalogue, so that he will first have to search for it in the catalogue itself or in the index. This is probably due to the circumstance that the disposition of the plates had to be made before the printing of the text was definitely completed.

As to the drawings themselves, the Italian are by far in the majority. Their series begins with a green tinted leaf of parchment of the Trecento, both sides of which present figures from paintings in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi and probably originate from a pupil of Giotto. This great rarity is followed by the Quattrocento, and in this the alphabetical arrangement results in Venetians, Florentines, Ferrarese, insofar as they bear a definite name, being mixed, so that the Venetians Bellini and Carpaccio are followed by a Florentine study of Lorenzo di Credi and a Ferrarese drawing of a woman. Besides these, the Quattrocento is represented by many interesting drawings, such as Benozzo Gozzoli, Filippino Lippi, Mantegna (studies for the triptych of the *Resurrection* in the Uffizi), Antonio del Pollaiuolo, and by a parchment leaf of the kind of the Lombardic Model-books, which made their appearance after the end of the fourteenth century, filled with single figures and scenes and with *impresas*. The recto-side shows, among other representations, a flying swallow (judging by the shape of its tail and beak), which pursues an insect and afterwards feeds its three young ones. On the verso, an eagle is standing on a tree and looking downwards to some water from which a face sends up rays towards him. One's thoughts turn to the story of the Physiologos, who says that the eagle, after soaring towards the sun, plunges down into a fountain, and one may presume that the face in the water represents the reflection of the beaming sun.

For the Cinquecento the publication brings drawings by artists like Andrea del Sarto, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Perugino, Fra Bartolommeo, various leaves by Paolo Veronese, including a design for the *Crucifixion* in the Louvre, and by Tintoretto, as well as some not very important ones by Raffael. Of particular interest is the representation of Perino del Vaga by the drawing for the unfinished fresco of the *Death of Martyrs* for the Brotherhood of Camaldoli, for which Vasari's description is reprinted in the text, and chiefly by the drawing of the *Entombment*, which was used by Rembrandt and was perhaps in his possession. Also a pen-drawing on the story of Joseph, beginning with his being sold to the Edomites and ending with the scene of Pharaoh's wife, is ascribed to him (with a query). Considering the continuous representation, it may be believed that it was intended for a cassone. A drawing by Beccafumi for a part of the mosaic floor of the Cathedral of Siena in 1544 should, it seems to me, be termed less a study than a finished design meant to be enlarged for a cartoon.

Of the Seicento one may chiefly mention Guercino and Pietro da Cortona, and of the Settecento Piazzetta, Tiepolo, Canaletto, Guardi.

The third volume contains the French throughout the centuries, from Clouet and Primaticcio to Claude Lorrain, Lesueur, Watteau, Boucher, Fragonard, Prudhon, Gericault, down to the 19th century, with seven Ingres, Chasseriau, Corot, Courbet, Dau-

mier, six or seven Delacroix, and finally Jean-François Millet, Manet, Gauguin, Toulouse-Lautrec, Van Gogh, Matisse, and nearly twenty Degas and six Picassos.

The Netherlands are represented by a lesser number, among which there will be found a fine Alpine landscape by Brueghel the Elder; by Rubens a drawing for the *Erection of the Cross* of 1609, and two Apostles for the *Ascension* in Vienna; by Van Dyck a drawing for the *Iconographie* and two very carefully finished views of a suit of armor, and several by Jordaens. By the early Dutch masters of the 16th century, there is only a Lucas von Leyden (with a query), representing a romantic rider on an ox, which may perhaps be ascribed to Jan de Cock — an artist whose existence has only recently been cleared up — as the drawing in question shows several of his artistic peculiarities. The meaning of the scene is not clear. The 17th century is more richly represented with Van Goien, Pieter Molyn, five Rembrandts, among which there is a wonderful small snow-landscape, Nicolaus Maes, and Adrian von Ostade.

The German part contains two Dürer drawings (Winkler, Vol. IV, 1939, Nr. 881 & 914), a portrait by Holbein, drawings by Hans von Kulmbach, Burgkmair, and several of the 19th century, such as Menzel, the brothers Kobell and A. L. Richter, the last of which belong to the original stock of Dr. Randall.

Besides these drawings particularly mentioned, the publication offers us an abundance of others by less important or unrecognized artists, on the authorship of which connoisseurs and students can exercise their criticism.

This splendid publication will be received with great gratitude, with its rich contents and its perfect get-up. It stands in contrast to publications which present the entire work of a single great artist and thereby give a summary view of the personality of a leading genius and his development, and it is not an anthology which gives only a series of high-lights. In fulfilment of its special object, it is a testimony of the rich collection of the Museum of Harvard University, a compendium that presents not only the different styles and the varied techniques, but also the literary sources for a closer determination, and the corresponding reproductions of similar drawings and paintings in other publications for comparison. The judgments of other specialists are quoted exactly, and the authors take up their position of agreement or contradiction and sometimes enter into detailed discussions.

The reviewer feels that he is not an expert in this extensive field and is therefore not entitled to take a place in the ranks of connoisseurs by making attributions, and can only refer to the contents and express his admiration for this grand work which is founded on the accurate knowledge of its authors and the results of their decades of collecting.

— ADOLPH GOLDSCHMIDT

SOME AMERICAN PRIMITIVES. By Clara Endicott Sears. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1941. 289 pp., 110 illustrations, \$3.50.

Here is a delightful chatty narrative about the nineteenth century New England itinerant portrait painters and their times. The book is crammed with interesting anecdotes about the old limners and is full of the author's adventures in picture collecting. More important, it makes a serious contribution to our factual knowledge about itinerant portrait painting, adding many names and detailed biographies to our scant store of information.

A possible criticism of the book is its lack of any consistent estimate of style for the pictures under discussion. The author, with her specialized interest in these portraits,

has a surprisingly layman-like approach to the subject. She frequently, for instance, attributes to the sitter qualities that are purely results of the painter's style. Woodenness of feature, perfectly fresh and pressed clothing, meticulous neatness, go back of course to the primitive painter's abstract approach and crisp technique rather than to an individual sitter's personal appearance or habits. Again, the blood relationships which Miss Sears suspects between the subjects of certain portraits are clearly relationships of author. Unrelated ladies painted by the same primitive artist may appear almost identical, while twin sisters painted by two different limners, each with his own portrait-formula, might resemble each other not at all.

All this only goes to say that Miss Sears has approached her subject almost exclusively from the point of view of the personalities of the painters and sitters; and she has vividly recaptured their lives and environment in a pleasant and useful book.

THEY TAUGHT THEMSELVES. By Sidney Janis. New York, Dial Press, 1942. 258 pp., 88 plates, 2 color plates, \$3.50.

Mr. Janis' book is tangible witness to his pioneer work in the field of modern American Primitives. Mr. Barr, in his foreword, mentions that the author is not an academically trained art historian and that there is something about the method and spirit of his book which "seems peculiarly in harmony with its self-taught subjects." Mr. Janis' conscientiousness and enthusiasm may indeed, as Mr. Barr points out, recall these primitive artists. But surely the most striking aspect of the book is the acute, knowledge-full, sophisticated criticism which Mr. Janis brings to bear on his simple and naïve subjects.

Each of the brief critical-psychoanalytical analyses — of Morris Hirshfield's paintings in particular — is a modern gem of subtle art criticism. These little essays stand with the pictures in quality, and supplement them and heighten appreciation of them to an extraordinary degree. Mr. Janis' criticism dramatically vitalizes the paintings described by allowing the reader to see in them, at a glance, all the meaning and design that the critic has detected there through what one feels must have been long and affectionate acquaintance.

The material the book presents, with the exception of the Hirshfield, Doriani, Pickett, and Church paintings, and a single painting by Patrick J. Sullivan called *The Fourth Dimension*, does not seem to this writer quite worthy of Mr. Janis' truly brilliant analytical criticism. Collectively, of course, the pictures add up to an interesting cross-section of the field. But perhaps, in the final analysis, absolutely remarkable modern American primitives are scarcer than Mr. Janis seems to believe.

THE STORY OF MODERN ART. By Sheldon Cheney. New York, Viking Press, 1941. 643 pp., 313 illustrations, \$5.00.

The development of modern art from the time of David and the French Romantics through the current roster of American painters is fully outlined in an informal and easily read manner. Biographical sketches of all the more important moderns are included and the large number of illustrations have been well selected. This volume covers such a broad field that it can offer little to the student or specialist but will serve as an ample panorama for the casual reader for whom it is doubtless intended.

THE AMERICAN ARTIST AND HIS TIMES. By Homer Saint-Gaudens. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1941. 332 pp., 65 plates, \$5.00.

Mr. Saint-Gaudens believes that pictures should not be viewed in rows like stamps in an album, that while natural history museums have taken a step forward in display-

ing objects in their environments, art museums have not. In his book *Mr. Saint-Gaudens* does, most successfully, consider art in its setting. The art, the artist, and his times, are presented as a vital unit — and this, rather than scholarly research or new evaluations, is the emphasis of the book.

The author has tackled the job well armed with knowledge, imagination and commonsense. In his narrative the pictures richly fill out our understanding and appreciation of their times, and vice versa. The author's wide span of first-hand acquaintance with the chief artists of his and his father's generations gives his book a unique interest and authenticity.

— JEAN LIPMAN

PAUL KLEE. *Edited by Karl Nierendorf, with an Introduction by James Johnson Sweeney.* New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. 35 pp. text, 67 photogelatine plates, \$6.00.

Klee's work is shown both in color and in black and white in the sixty-seven plates that form the major bulk of this new book published by the Oxford University Press. The two reproductions in color bring out the qualities of line and color which are the two main characteristics of his work.

Fulfilment is a figure drawing that depends entirely upon fluidity of line. *Figures of the Oriental Stage* has vivid reds and purples in sharp contrast, which will suggest the whole world of the mandarin theatre to those familiar with oriental drama.

Through this dual use of line and color, Klee built up his world of fantasy and imagination which manages to convey more through suggestion than many another artist has been able to do with photographic representation. Klee's art is poetic in the sense that it ignores normal relationships and addresses itself directly to the spirit, with all the power of suggestion that is retained in the very essence of the idea portrayed.

Klee cannot be tagged with a convenient term, as becomes apparent with a study of the pictures in this book. He is not abstractionist, he is not constructivist, he is not humorist. And yet he is all of them. He is always himself, and that is to say that he is always spiritual. The esthetic exposition which Mr. James Johnson Sweeney has contributed to the book analyzes this peculiar quality of Klee in a satisfactory manner. The biographical account which Karl Nierendorf has written makes the man Klee come to life with his love for the violin, his impoverished early years, his simple and spiritual attitude toward life and things.

Klee has become increasingly popular in this country within the last few years. The many memorial shows held last year, following his death in Berne, Switzerland, did much to foster his reputation in America. And this new book from the Oxford University Press will do still more to spread the appreciation of his work among art lovers everywhere.

Technically, the book is a valuable contribution to art bibliography in America, from the various standpoints of printing, binding, and reproduction both in color and in black and white.

— MARY MAYER

HEART OF SPAIN. By *Georgiana Goddard King.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941. 170 pp., 10 illus., \$3.00.

Heart of Spain is a posthumous work of Miss King, an outstanding scholar in the field of Spanish mediæval art and for many years professor of the history of art at

Bryn Mawr College. The composition and typography of the book are exceptionally fine and it is illustrated with ten photographs of great beauty, prepared long ago for the present volume by Miss King's personal friend, Miss E. H. Lowber. Many of the pictures take one very close to the heart of Spain, indeed, and complement Miss King's almost rapturous descriptions of Spain's countryside. The barren stark hills at the gates of Daroca with its mediæval towers and "crumbling red walls" before which a peasant threshes as in centuries past, or the romantic desolation of the towers of Madrigal de las Altas Torres will give pause to those who have never seen Spain no less than to the Hispanophile.

The present volume, written in 1926, remained unpublished at the time of the author's death in 1939 and now appears as a memorial through the efforts of a group of friends and pupils. Especial recognition should be awarded the excellent work of the editor and promoter of the publication, Miss Agnes Mongan, who has written in the preface a fine tribute to the pedagogy and scholarship of her former teacher. Miss Mongan is in error, however, in the following statement: "How it came about that the book was not only not published but not even known to her immediate circle remains a mystery." The existence of the manuscript was known to some of Miss King's friends including the present reviewer to whom she spoke of it on several occasions.

Heart of Spain will never be classified as a book dealing with the history of art but rather as background material similar to the writings of John Addington Symonds such as *Sketches and Studies in Italy*, London, 1879. Churches are mentioned along with descriptions of town and country, and interspersed are episodes of mediæval and Renaissance history and essays on Spanish literature. As a matter of fact the only monument to be discussed architecturally is the cathedral of Cuenca where the author saw relationships to the English cathedral of Lincoln. The activity of an English architect in Castile she found logical enough at a time when an English woman, Eleanor, was queen of Spain, consort of Alfonso VIII. Miss King built the newly published work around the cities of central Spain, mostly Castilian: Burgos, Daroca, Madrigal de las Altas Torres, Cuenca, Alarcón, Segovia, Avila, Toledo, Madrid, Zamora, Toro, Salamanca, Trujillo. Connected with each of these cities are historic moments, vividly recounted, which reveal the greatness of Spain's past. At appropriate places the author takes excursions into literary criticism. At Burgos she discusses the *Poem of the Cid* and at Salamanca the career and the poetry of Fray Luis de León. Elsewhere are sympathetic studies of Coplas and Romances with a generous quantity of poems translated by the author into English verse. The present century is represented by Pío Baroja, Blasco Ibáñez, Angel Ganivet, and Azorín, a choice which more than anything non-political reveals the date when the book was written — 1926.

Miss King was a romanticist. She loved Spain and she poured out her love with boundless enthusiasm. *Heart of Spain* is a eulogy to a great people, its country, its art, its traditions.

— HAROLD E. WETHEY

Please note the following corrections in the illustration for Dr. Wolfgang Stechow's article, AN ANTWERP ALTARPIECE RECONSTRUCTED, published in the January, 1942, issue of ART IN AMERICA:

The entire captions of Figs. 3 and 4 should be exchanged.
Diagrams 1 and 3 should be exchanged.
